

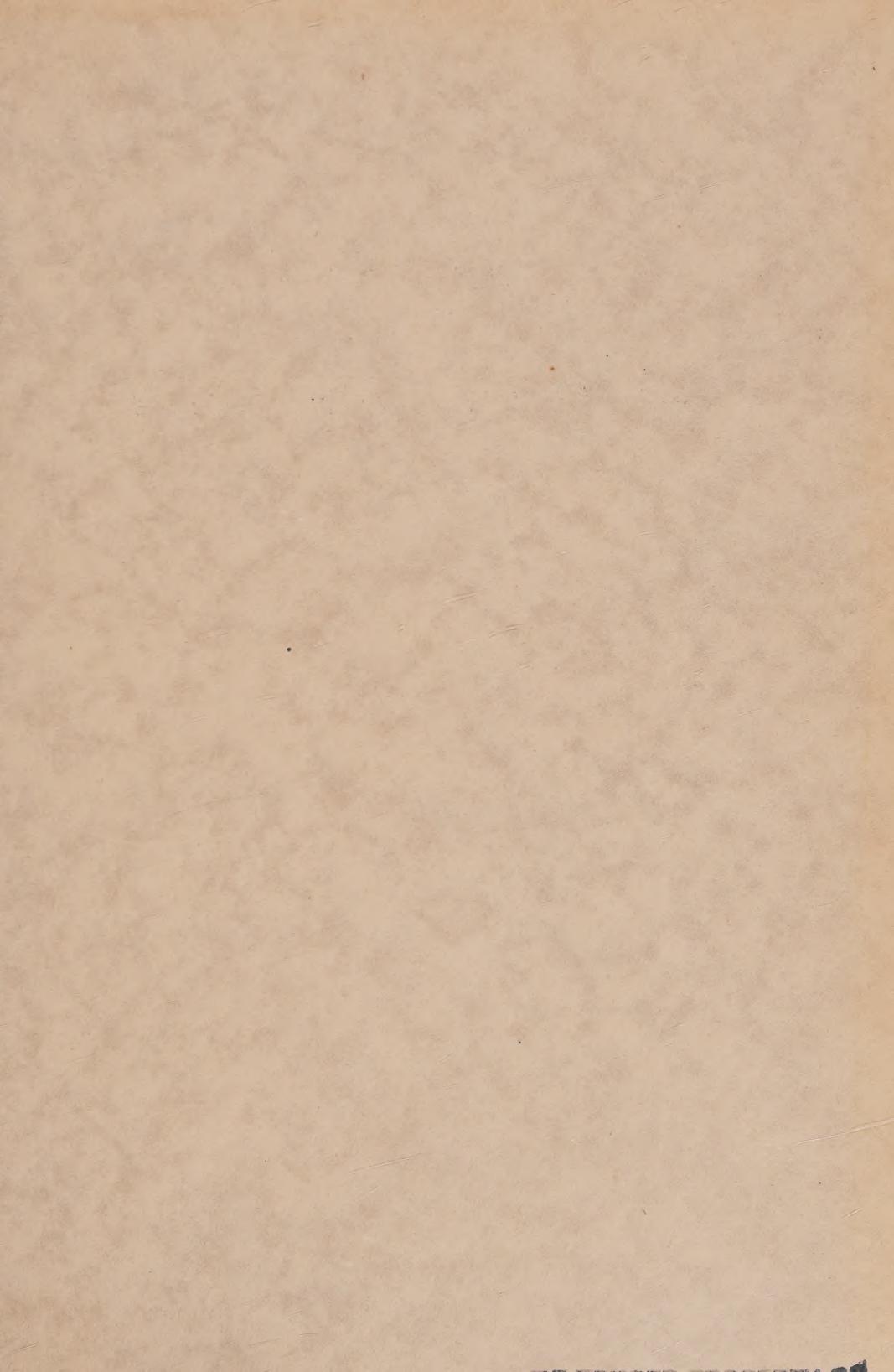


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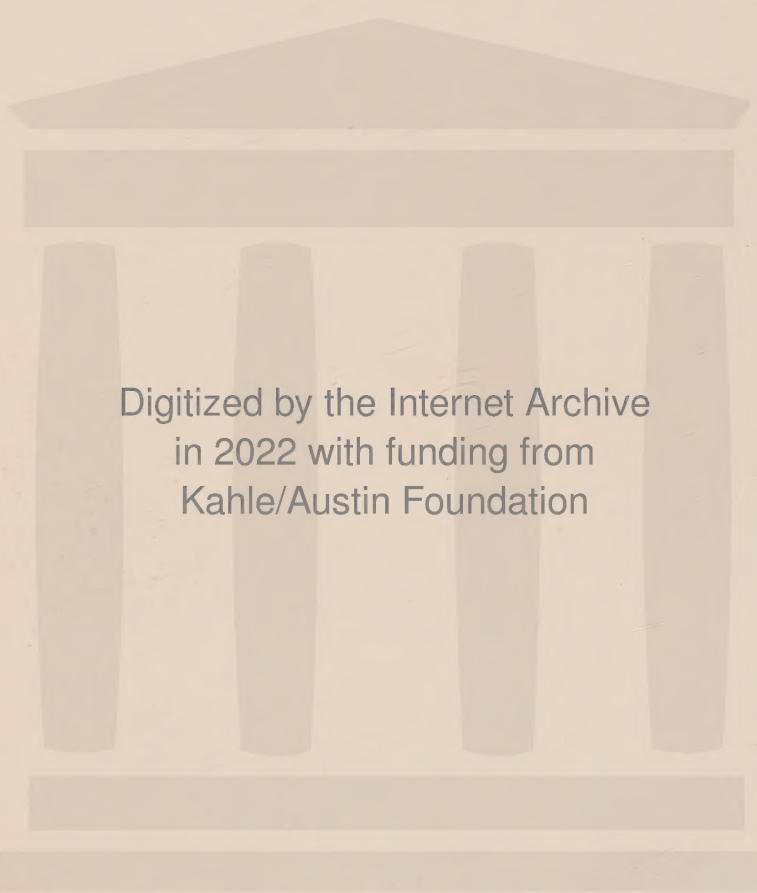
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Vol. VII

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The Triple Alliance

Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau
and Wilson (from left to right) at
the entrance to the Wilson residence
in the Place des Etats Unis, in Paris

Photo from *Wilson's War*



THE GREAT EVENTS OF THE GREAT WAR

A COMPREHENSIVE AND READABLE SOURCE RECORD OF THE WORLD'S GREAT WAR, EMPHASIZING THE MORE IMPORTANT EVENTS, AND PRESENTING THESE AS COMPLETE NARRATIVES IN THE ACTUAL WORDS OF THE CHIEF OFFICIALS AND MOST EMINENT LEADERS

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COORDINATE WITH "THE GREAT EVENTS BY FAMOUS HISTORIANS" AND ARRANGED UPON THE STANDARD SYSTEM OF THE NATIONAL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION AS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE COUNSEL OF THE LEADING SCHOLARS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, WITH OUTLINE NARRATIVES, INDICES, CHRONOLOGIES, AND COURSES OF READING ON SOCIOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS AND INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL ACTIVITIES

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

CHARLES F. HORNE, PH.D.

DIRECTING EDITOR

WALTER F. AUSTIN, LL.M.

With a staff of specialists

VOLUME VII



The National Alumni

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1918—1919
FROM ARMISTICE TO PEACE TREATY

AN OUTLINE NARRATIVE OF
THE FIRST STEPS IN REBUILDING THE WORLD

BY CHARLES F. HORNE

HUMAN progress moves as with the swing of some vast pendulum, each forward step reversing itself in some sharp reaction. Yet there is progress. Men who have studied that pendulous sweep throughout the ages, have learned to watch its backward swing without despair. They have built for themselves from history the same high and confident faith that spiritual souls have gathered from religion, the faith that every forward step of the human race grows longer and stronger, and that each backward move is shortened, is indeed but the regaining of solid ground from which the divine impulse again sweeps us onward with a larger power. Some such faith we need in dwelling on the days of reaction that followed immediately on the Great War.

On November 11, 1918, the world, or rather the peoples of the Allies, had reached a glory of such exalted spirit as mankind had not known for many centuries. That, at least, the Great War did for our generation. It gave to us a passion of energy, of self-sacrifice, of devotion to a high purpose, of noble thought and noble service, such as no generation had ever reached before, except through the ecstasy of some great religion. The steadfast opposition with which all peoples had defied autocratic savagery, the unyielding "Will to Righteousness" displayed by our men and by our women, on the battle front and in the services of home, had been a revelation of the splendid height to which the universal human spirit can soar, the deeds it can accomplish.

Unfortunately, however, the everyday life of our race holds no such mighty stimulus. That wondrous spirit of the

war days faded somewhat, inevitably faded, after the armed victory was won. Those who had saved the world, wanted now to enjoy the world. As the call for love and service to mankind grew less intense, the voice of self-service and self-love grew strong again. Few men have such broad vision that they can see earth as a whole, can realize all the influence of that which happens far in the East upon him who dwells perchance in the farthest West. In the months that followed on the Armistice, the thoughts of each ordinary man centered more and more upon his own nation, his own neighborhood, his own family, his own comfort.

From the universal, therefore, men descended to the particular. The Central Powers of Europe had surrendered. Some disposition of them must be made. They must not be allowed strength ever to disrupt the world again. But on the exact methods by which this was to be done, scarcely any two men agreed, and no two nations were anywhere near agreement. Each studied the future from the viewpoint of its own nationality.

Britain was convinced that the best guarantee of a permanent peace lay in a mighty British Empire spreading a mighty fleet abroad over every ocean. France believed the guarantee should be a greater France extended to the Rhine and holding Germany in thrall by military force. Japan thought the peace path might lead by way of an acknowledgment of complete racial equality; that is, Japanese equality and Japanese supremacy over Chinamen. Italy planned to dominate the Adriatic and the Balkans, and thus, as a wiser Austria, to hold under her control the ever-menacing racial antagonisms of southeastern Europe. Even Bolshevikic Russia had its blinded theory that if only the world were all ignorant and all proletarian it would be all at peace.

In America people had escaped most of these antagonisms through the good fortune of possessing a half empty hemisphere of their own, and a blended ancestry, wise with the sufferings they had endured in every European land. Hence in America there persisted a real strength of purpose toward a broader reconstruction. Men dreamed of a union like that of their already "united states," only on a world-wide basis,

an equal organization of all governments without the enlargement of any one. But to the crowded eastern hemisphere this seemed only a dream, or more nearly a nightmare, destructive of what each nation loved the best.

While favorite hopes, and plans for future greatness, thus swayed each government from its once intense wartime concentration upon mere survival, all governments occupied themselves mainly with more immediate needs. Each studied, in accordance with the special pressure upon each, to save its people from the exhaustion and misery resultant from the War. That misery has been sharply impressed upon the memory of every thinking person, has been stamped hideously and unforgetably upon the vision of all those who "saw," all those who have endured and have survived their scars. Here we need only briefly review the consequences of the disaster.

During four awful years, a large portion of the world had been swept by the brutalizing ravage of massacre and starvation and all the horde of diseases which civilization, in more prosperous days, had learned to hold in check. A "Black Death," more deadly than the terrible medieval plague so named, had once more burst every barrier built up by the wisdom of scientists and statesmen, had escaped all the chains slowly wrought by human effort, and had harried the human race. What the Horror's toll of lives had been in those ruined lands which had once rejoiced in the pompous names of Russian and Turkish Empires we can only guess; and from those regions as a center its curse had extended in a destruction but little less deadly over all western Asia and central Europe.

In its passing, the scourge had not only destroyed human life and left to the bereaved a lasting and immeasurable grief; it had also swept away all the garnered store of food and seed from former years, most of the domestic animals once counted on for future supplies, and much of that accumulated treasure of houses and tools and furnishings and clothes which represented the patient labor of many generations. Naked almost as Adam, a large portion of the human race had to recommence its toil in a world less tropically com-

fortable than Eden's garden, and with wants and desires far more complex than those of our primeval parents.

So, while European diplomats discussed the terms of armistice and peace, their governments were far more immediately concerned with questions of food and labor and domestic finance. Many million people had to be carried over the threatening starvation period, until another autumn should bring Nature's harvest once more to the support of man.

In this work of relief America and also Britain gave generous aid. Herbert Hoover, the former director of Belgian relief, was now appointed the United States' commissioner for distributing supplies everywhere. American funds and American food, under his direction, became the chief factor in bringing to all Europe a temporary rescue.

Yet even this last and greatest of the broad charities of the War, fostered misunderstandings and dissensions. Each continental nation was now looking mainly to its own needs; and each asserted its own first claim to aid. In many lands the people were so exhausted both mentally and physically, so drained of hope and energy that they were content just to sit in idleness and be fed. They grew to look upon the supplies as a right; and at length the relief commissioners had to announce everywhere that they would help only such as helped themselves. Even in France, where during the War the gallantry of spirit had been most high and recognition of the service of Britain and America most ready, even there the voice of business sounded louder than the voice of gratitude.

For the first month or so after the Armistice this changing temper of the peoples everywhere was scarcely felt. Vast military supplies had been gathered to support the armies through the coming winter of 1918-19, and it was easy to transfer to the peoples some of these supplies, especially of food and clothes. So November and even December continued to be months of triumph.

By the beginning of 1919, however, the reaction was complete. Only the United States and Britain retained any surplus of power and energy to be turned to other than im-

mediate affairs. In those lands the plans of reorganization proceeded rapidly and the people still found time to interest themselves in science, in the readjustments of capital and labor, and even in their sports. Half sporting and half scientific, for example, was the transatlantic flight by air machines. This was repeatedly attempted, and was first achieved by an American "sea-plane" on May 17th of 1919.¹

THE TRIUMPH OVER GERMANY

Continental Europe meanwhile was giving all its energies to the primal problem of self-preservation, the saving of civilization from the close approach of Bolshevism and starvation. Following on the Armistice, the armies of Belgium, Britain, the United States, and France marched eagerly forward into Germany and settled down to that occupation of the Rhine lands which was to be turned by the Peace Treaty into a more permanent tenancy.

To men who still thought along old lines, who recalled the boastful German march through Paris after the War of 1870, this expression of victory over Germany was not a very satisfying form of triumph. The French indeed strove to give to the investment an air of "*La gloire*," of soul-satisfying vengeance; but to the other armies this was only the final plodding step in a hard and long extended task. Everywhere the Ally soldiers found the Germans ready to receive them obediency, almost cordially. The German people were only too thankful to have escaped armed ravage and plunder, such as they had visited upon other lands.²

Hence the investment proved no more than a military parade, followed by the military policing of a region which had indeed been drained bare of all military supplies but had still at command the necessities and most of the comforts of civilian life. Many of the more ignorant soldiers in the armies of occupation, looking around upon the peace and order and cleanliness that flourished along the Rhine, began even to question if this social organism of Germany were not better than their own. They failed to realize the crushing

¹ See § VII, "Man's First Transatlantic Flight," by Read, etc.

² See § I, "Occupation of the Rhine Land," by Hanotaux, Howe, etc.

weight of that autocratic government which had sheltered these lands, failed to see how slavish was the spirit of submission which alone had made such conditions possible. That blind obedience of the German masses had made all Germany's vaunted "organization" inferior, in the end, to the higher spirit of individual independence and initiative in the Frenchman.

Beyond the Rhine, moreover, the German people were in far less happy condition. The revolution of November, which had driven the Kaiser into flight, had left the land without any assured government. The Socialist leaders in Berlin had declared the country a republic, and the old imperial officials had quietly handed over their authority to the newly proclaimed President, "Fritz" Ebert, the Heidelberg "saddle-maker." Thus the revolution had been a most orderly and even dignified affair, many of the former officials continuing their duties under the new authorities.

This very orderliness, however, worked against the suddenly reared republic. Its reality and its sincerity were doubted, both by the Allies abroad and by the discontented and turbulent working-classes at home. The more extreme revolutionists, the "Spartacists," as they called themselves, refused to believe that this was revolution at all. They wanted to go immeasurably further, to set up a government like that of Russia, to establish the "rule of the proletariat," with all the middle and upper classes exterminated or reduced to servitude.

There were tumults everywhere, and fierce uprisings only put down by military force. For over a week, beginning on January 5th, Berlin was torn by deadly warfare in her streets, and hundreds of the Spartacists were slain. The new government's chief of police, Noske, proved resolute and energetic in crushing each revolt; but he only did so by invoking the very forces which his Socialist comrades had themselves condemned in other days as tyrannous and murderous. The leaders of the Spartacan movement, Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were both slain while under arrest by Noske's police. When the whirligig of fortune swings into unexpected power a tender-hearted proletarian

idealist, the form of government which he himself adopts proves usually that of slaughtering his former "beloved brothers" as well as his "brutally tyrannous" opponents, without even the formality of a trial. Few human beings are built so strong as to withstand the temptations that attend upon unlimited power.

Gradually from out the German chaos there emerged a form of order. An election was held by universal suffrage; and on February 6th of 1919 a truly representative "Reichstag" or National Assembly convened. Its members were mainly Socialistic, but by no means impractical. Many had been well-known leaders in former Reichstags, and under their experienced hands the work of reorganization progressed smoothly. President Ebert was by this Assembly confirmed in office; a constitution was prepared for the republic; and a regular democratic government was formed. Twice at least this new government suppressed revolts both by the extreme radicals and by the extreme reactionaries, the latter seeking to restore the military empire. Thus by degrees the Allies came to look upon the German Republic as a reality and as a stability; they began to feel for it a confidence it had not at first inspired. If the new Germany be not perfect, it is at least far more free, far more honest, more democratic, and less vainglorious than the old.¹

DOWNFALL OF THE "MIDDLE EUROPE EMPIRE"

The other lands from which Germany had hoped to mold her "Empire of Middle Europe" were less swift of reconstruction. Here too, however, the patient watcher of the pendulum will read hope and faith into the future, despite the superficial vision of anarchy and shame. Russia and her former provinces remained deep in misery; but to the other Slavic peoples the giant outcome of the War was freedom, the freeing of all their cowed and "slavish" world from the Teuton yoke of centuries.

That broad belt of submerged races between the Teuton and the Russian centers of power, once coveted and almost

¹ See § IV, "Germany begins Constitutional Government," by Ebert et al.

wholly devoured by the two great rivals, now lay distracted, lordless, uncontrolled, tossing madly between present starvation and reawakened dreams of nationality and future power. The ill-bound Austrian domain, that merest catspaw and cloak of German expansion toward the southeast, exploded into fragments from within before ever an Ally regiment had crossed its borders.

One dark picture follows there upon another, the horror deepening as we watch. Soldiers shot down their officers, and officers their men. Sailors drowned their captains. Whole divisions of the subject troops refused to advance to the front, and entrenching themselves in armed camps defied their government by force. Hungarian armies were recklessly disbanded by their generals far from their own homes; and they marched across Austria in huge mobs, seizing food and plunder as they went, and leaving behind them strips of desert as bare as where the locust plague had passed of old.

While loyal Austrian troops still stood beyond their outermost former frontier holding back the Serbian army in the Serbian mountains and the Italian army along the Italian rivers, the subject races within the heart of the empire broke into open revolt. The ancient Hapsburg bubble burst as utterly as had that still more swollen bubble of the Hohenzollerns. In the northern Austrian provinces, on October 28, 1918, the people of Prague, the ancient capital of Bohemia, the chief seat of the Czecho-Slavs or north Slavs, turned out their Austrian officials and assumed control of their own government. In the south the leaders of the Jugoslavs or south Slavs did the same on October 29th. Hastily gathered committees met at the chief south Slavic cities, at Laibach, at Agram, and at Serajevo, where the War had been begun; and all declared the Austrian dominion was at an end forever.

The Hungarians also sought to escape from sharing the doom of the shattered empire of which they had long been the fiercest and most warlike supporters. On October 31st the Hungarian "Diet" or parliament declared Hungary a wholly independent republic under the liberal democratic leader Count Karolyi. The helpless Hapsburg emperor,

Charles, abdicated early in November; and the new republic hastened to claim from the Allies friendship, alliance, a release from all responsibility for the former empire's misdeeds, and an assurance that the Hungarian sovereignty over the surrounding Slavic races should be perpetuated. When Count Karolyi and the other nobles who had accepted his guidance found this lordly pose ignored by the Allies, they in March resigned office as a protest, appealing to "the peoples of all the world" for "justice."

This was really an appeal to Russia, and a threat to the Allies that Hungary would turn Bolshevik. Indeed, a nominally Bolshevik government or "dictatorship of the proletariat" was promptly set up in April under the control of Bela Kun, a revolutionary soldier. The Bolshevism of Bela Kun was, however, free from the unreasoning bloodshed and fury against the upper classes which had been displayed in Russia. As dictator he ruled Hungary not unsuccessfully, even conducting an effective military campaign to extend her borders.

Finally, however, Bela Kun ventured to attack Rumania. This brought about the invasion of his country and his own complete defeat. In August of 1919 the Rumanians captured Budapest, the Hungarian capital, and wrung a heavy toll from the entire land. After their withdrawal the wholly disillusioned Hungarian nobles returned to their old trust in the Hapsburgs and chose a member of the royal family, the Archduke Joseph, as their ruler. Him, the Allies ordered out, being resolved that no Hapsburg should again build up an empire. So before the end of 1919 the much changed and changing Hungary was again a so-called republic, but of most reactionary type, dominated by the remnant of its fierce nobility.

A similar anarchy, only made up more of despair and less of arrogance, pervaded Austria itself. Even the long suffering populace of Vienna burst into revolt when the royal armies fled; and on November 10, 1918, Vienna saw a revolution similar to that of Berlin. Driving out the Hapsburgs, the people set up a Socialistic republic, and appealed to all the world for food. The food was slow in coming, and the

misery of the city folk of Austria became intense. In January of 1919 the starving republic voted to unite itself to Germany; but this the Allies forbade, and Vienna still remains in desolation, a capital almost without a country, a great starving city having now little chance and little excuse for drawing its sustenance from the surrounding country.

THE NEW NATIONS OF CENTRAL EUROPE

While the forces of disintegration were thus rending into fragmentary and unreal republics the long planned "Empire of Middle Europe," there were other forces working in the region for reconstruction. The Bohemians or Czechoslovaks, as they now named themselves, had long before built up an army in Russia to fight for the Ally cause. Of the remarkable exploits of this "army without a country" we have told in a previous volume, as also of the formation of an exile government of Czechoslovakia in Paris, under President Masaryk. The stanch courage of these men now met its reward. Czechoslovakian independence was immediately recognized by the Allies, the Paris government of President Masaryk was transferred to Prague, the Bohemian capital; and a remnant of the wandering army was ultimately restored to its home.¹

All this northern section of the Austrian Empire thus became a new and important republic, Czechoslovakia, a mountain State in the heart of Europe, much larger and stronger than the similar mountain republic of Switzerland. Moreover, Czechoslovakia was from the start a democratic State. Its new president had been accounted a dreamer in the old days, a preacher of impossible extremes of peasant government. Yet it was upon the support of the Slavic peasantry that Masaryk builded his government. There was too much work to be done to pause for a general election then; and not until a year and a half later, in May of 1920, did a regularly elected Assembly meet to voice the people's will in Czechoslovakia. Yet when it did meet, it approved practically all that Masaryk and his supporters had done. It renamed him president, it confirmed the laws of the earlier

¹ See § VIII, "The Republic of Czechoslovakia," by Masaryk, etc.

irregular Assembly, which had abolished all titles of nobility, and broken up all territorial estates. No proprietor in that resolute democracy can hold more than a square mile of land. On the other hand, the Czecho-Slovak laws are equally resolute against Bolshevism, the attempt to subjugate brain beneath the weight of numbers and of ignorance. The interest in this new and boldly progressive European government, a democracy encircled by every form of tyranny and grasping force, is not confined to Europe.

Far differently moved the forces of reconstruction in the Polish lands. The ancient Kingdom of Poland had been abolished, and its lands divided among neighboring kings more than a century before; but the Polish spirit had never died. The national anthem of the Poles was still sung in secret. It opens with the cry, "Poland yet survives!" During the early years of the War, the regions of Russian and Austrian Poland had been desolated more utterly than any other European land except Serbia. Then in 1917 the exhausted remnant of the populace had obtained shelter under German domination, a peace of suppression and almost of starvation. The German part of Poland was in far better condition; it had suffered but little more than other German lands, had been drained of its young manhood but had not been ravaged. So now, when the Armistice left the Poles to themselves, left them to build anew their ancient and beloved State, it was from the Germanized Poles that their strength chiefly came.

Indeed Germany and Austria had already created from Russian Poland a "Kingdom of Poland" of their own, having it ruled by a "Regency Council" until they could select a proper Teuton princeling to set up as its king. In France the Allies had been supporting a Polish army, made up of exiled Poles who had rallied to the Ally cause from many lands. So the "Council" in Poland now asked for Ally support; and a new Polish Republic was set up, extending over Prussian, Austrian, and much of German Poland. A general election was held in January of 1919; and thus a truly Polish government, elected by the people, came into opera-

tion. It requested and promptly received representation at the Peace Conference.¹

The men elected to the new Polish Assembly were however, mainly upper class Poles, representing the ancient aristocratic spirit of the land, rather than the masses of the people. These latter were far too crushed, too enfeebled, to think or act for themselves. Hence the new Polish Republic was set up rather from without than from within. It was the foster child of the Allies, rather than a spontaneous birth from the nation. It was the bulwark which Western Europe sought to build as a defense between anarchistic Russia and militaristic Germany.

Naturally the new Poland showed itself aggressive from the start. Its armies were hurriedly reënforced, received Ally supplies, and began to reach out in all directions, claiming all surrounding regions which had once belonged to Poland, seeking to extend its frontiers at the expense of Russia and of the Ukraine and even of Czecho-Slovakia. There were rumors of military "pogroms," unprevented massacres of Polish Jews, and while investigation proved these charges to have been exaggerated, there remained to them a dark shadow of tragic truth. The new Poland has not pleased all lovers of the human race as has the new Czecho-Slovakia. The former seems only seeking to recreate the Past; the latter to have caught a definite vision of the Future.

RECONSTRUCTION IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

In south-eastern Europe, the forces of reconstruction centered mainly about Serbia and Rumania. These had been the Allies' champions and the Teutons' victims in the War. To them, or to such of their people as survived, belonged the future, upheld by the Allies.

Few abler, stronger heroes had been brought out by the War than Prince Alexander of Serbia. As regent for his father, the aged, picturesque King Peter, Alexander had won the loyalty and admiration of all his people, and the trust of other nations too. It was to him that the Austrian south Slavs turned. They were chiefly of three kindred Slavic

¹ See § V, "The Rescue of Poland," Paderewski, Hoover, et al.

races, the Slovenes, an agricultural people, the Croats, a more cultured folk, and the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, mountaineers, long nominal subjects of the Turks. When these peoples had declared themselves independent of Austria some of them, especially the Slovenes, desired to set up separate republics like those of their fellow Slavs in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. But a large majority voted to unite themselves with the Serbians, the champions of the south Slav nationalities throughout the War. So on December 1, 1918, a delegation from the various Austrian south Slavic peoples came to Prince Alexander in his ruined and now hastily reestablished capital of Belgrade, and asked to be united with his people in a "democratic kingdom" of all the south or Jugo-Slavs. The new kingdom, promptly organized, was formally announced to the world on January 3, 1919, as the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes."¹

Even the Serbs of little Montenegro, the wild mountain land which had never lost its independence to either Turk or Teuton, now voted to join the other Serbs in this new kingdom of "greater Serbia." The Montenegrins deposed their own aged sovereign, despite his vigorous protests, and helped to make of all the Serbs a single kingdom, the dominant State of the future Balkan regions.

As for Rumania, having submitted perforce to the Teutons early in 1918, and having received from them a form of peace, she had been able during the last year of the War to reorganize a government. This, immediately upon the Armistice, rallied all its forces and both by diplomacy and by arms began a vigorous effort for a "greater Rumania," as great as circumstances and the Allies might by any possibility allow. Many regions of Rumanian race had been held subject to Austro-Hungary along its eastern frontier. Rumania justly claimed all these regions and other similar adjoining lands in Russia. But in addition to these, which she was well assured the Allies would restore to her, she wanted to take from the neighboring Hungarians all she could. Her armies, as we have already noted, invaded Hun-

See § II, "Union of Greater Serbia," Prince Alexander, etc.

gary and occupied its capital; they refused to withdraw even when the Allies so commanded. They plundered Hungary and brought it as near to desolation as their own land had been, and only withdrew at the Allies' continuous insistence, when there was nothing left for them to carry off. Rumania thus achieved a vengeance after the ancient fashion, such as many of the Allies' peoples had longed to inflict on Germany.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

While Middle Europe was thus discordantly rearranging itself, the Allies met in their great Peace Conference at Paris. Disappointing as the results of this may have seemed to the sentimentalist who demanded that the conferees should settle every problem of the universe, and each in accord with the sentimentalist's own pet theories, that Paris Conference was yet the most important political gathering ever held among the sons of men. No such assembly had ever shown before so broad a practical wisdom and so humble and tolerant a brotherhood. These leaders were a unit in seeking some stable readjustment of the nations; but, as we have seen, each nation viewed this stability from its own angle, and on matters of detail the Allies were as little in accord as were their Middle Europe dependents.

In the Conference, the United States' delegation held a unique position, in that they had so much to give and so little to ask for their country. Hence their leader, President Wilson, stood out above all the other far-famed leaders of the Conference. He insisted, more broadly and more securely than any other could, upon a world policy of justice toward both friend and foe, and of equality for all mankind. These are noble thoughts, sure always of winning an easy, superficial approval; but in just what way should these large ideas be expressed in concrete form? To Woodrow Wilson they seemed mainly to demand the creation of a League of Nations; and he fought with unfailing resolution for such a league.

Many wide-thinking statesmen, chiefly from Great Britain, approved the Wilson purpose of a world-organization. A few idealistic writers in all lands upheld him and

his efforts to the end. But within the Conference he met most determined opposition. Moreover, the Congress of his own country afterward repudiated his stand, so that he cannot be said to have had behind him the united voice of his own nation. His opponents did not question his high intention and sincerity; but European antagonists declared him obstinate and unpractical, while those of his homeland declared him misled by the "keener craft of Europe's diplomats."¹

Thus the Conference became the struggle of one resolute man with a vision of the future, against a mass of practical statesmen swayed by the immediate desires of the present. The European leaders were driven by the fears or the ambitions or the hard necessities of their people to make incessant, ever-increasing demands.

In the first flush of peace, after all those long years of agony and ever-darkening FEAR, the peace itself had seemed all that people wished for. When President Wilson first reached Europe in December of 1918, he was received everywhere as the champion and savior of the human race. It was on his "Fourteen Points" that Germany had surrendered. They contented everybody, since everybody knew that the Allies were themselves to interpret the meaning of the points, and since these included restitution from Germany for the damage she had inflicted. There were three encouraging impulses in each rejoicing heart: peace was to last forever; Germany was to be the scapegoat who must suffer for all; and every one was to receive back all that he had lost.

Only by degrees did the stunning truth reach out to the mind of the common man, that Germany *could not* pay. Hence there was to be no satisfying restitution. Destruction is so much easier than creation. So large a part of the accumulated possessions of the world, its laboriously built up wealth of machinery, of public utilities, of ships and railroads and charities and institutions of learning and resources of every kind had been destroyed in the War that the whole of Germany did not possess and could not restore one-twen-

¹ See § III, "Opening of the Peace Conference," Wilson, Lloyd George, Harden, et al.

tieth part of what had perished. Nay, even if the loss were all charged up as a money debt against her and her children's children forever, and creditors seized all the profits from their toil for generations, the loss would never be made good to any now alive; and if interest were charged against the debt, then through each year the toil of the German peoples thus enslaved would not even pay that interest. Germany must remain a land of serfs forever, held under only by military force, and breeding hatred, poison, and at last universal destruction. Not on such a foundation could the world be recreated.

Of course the leaders of the Allies had long foreknown this. Therefore they hastened to draw the distinction between what Germany had been "justified" in destroying, in accordance with what they regarded as the established international laws of war, and what she had destroyed "illegally," or in defiance of the rules of the game. Also they classed apart such destruction as had been caused by their own armies or governments. But a French farmer, for example, who hoped to have back his little farm with the barns and the stone fences and the herds that he had owned before, had suffered with equal severity whether his cows had been taken legally or no, and his barns destroyed by a French shell or a German mine.

There, then, lay the root difficulty. Germany could not pay! To an American, comparatively little injured by the War, the philosophic conclusion came easily enough. "In that case, let her pay what she can. Cancel the rest." This easy critic was scarce prepared for the fierce European response, "Then, will you pay for her? Will you make good to us from your abundance?" To the American this seemed only another demand for charity, and he had been already largely charitable. The European looked upon the situation in another light. He had suffered to save civilization, which included saving the American. The latter, after long prospering in trade from the War, had only joined it just at the end, and hence had done but a small part of his fair share. It was only just that he should now contribute money where the others had paid so much more heavily in blood. Here

came a widening breach between the European and the American. Whatever the latter might do to aid, seemed to the former insufficient. Wherever America insisted on upholding a principle, Europe said, "You have not counted on the cost—to me."

Even the most courageous of Europe's leaders dared not meet their people frankly. The laboring classes, who had borne the main burden of the War, were beginning to demand release from their strenuous effort and privations. They too wanted now the pleasure and comfort of life. The shortage of everything was giving increased value to whatever property and stores remained, so prices mounted rapidly; and labor everywhere met this with a demand for higher wages. Then as men began to feel the actual pinch of the world's great poverty, their tempers naturally hardened. If Germany, under the restrictions of the "fourteen points," could not be made to pay, except some small amounts for technically "illegal" damage, then away with the fourteen points.

Instead of the statesmen leading the people now, the people drove the statesmen. Britain's Prime Minister, Lloyd George, returned temporarily from the Paris Conference to direct a British election, and found that his lack of severity toward Germany was likely to lose him his parliamentary control. The gradually changing tone of his speeches during that three weeks' election campaign makes a most interesting study. Before its close, he was pledging himself to exact from Germany a most tremendous indemnity, and to bring to punishment every German "war criminal" from the Kaiser down. Other premiers went through similar or more severe experiences. So little recompense was possible, that in every land the populace were soon vociferously demanding the more than possible. When they failed to obtain it, the fault could always be laid to those "impractical Americans."

And, in simple, saddest truth, the Americans did meet the situation impractically. Not within the Conference, but in their own home land, they ignored the need of harmony among themselves. Forgetting that all agreement must be

founded upon compromise, they seemed to think that they were the only victors in the War, that while their President should dictate to none of them at home, they could and should dictate to the other Allies, and to the world, whatever Treaty each American preferred. They argued among themselves over every item of the final document, seeking to turn each to their own pattern and protesting vehemently against points which touched them least. Instead of recognizing that the Treaty was at least far more of American than of European making and a closer approach to democratic ideals than any general organization ever before arranged, they opposed it because it was not wholly and solely what each defined in some different fashion as "American." To attempt to weigh the varying degrees of blame for this confusion, or to discuss how serious were the possible flaws within the Treaty, would be to enter regions of most violent partisanship. The obvious consequence remains. The United States threw away the leadership which might have been hers in the reconstruction of the world organism.

THE OPPOSING DESIRES OF THE POWERS

That is the real story of the Peace Treaty. When the Conference was formally opened on January 18, 1919, President Wilson was still the idol of Europe and the hero of the hour. Over the main point, the German indemnity, there was no real dispute within the Conference. The United States delegates agreed with those of Europe that Germany should pay all she could; and the share of the United States from any such payment would have been so small that she could well afford to resign it to more needy claimants. In this matter, the trouble lay, as we have seen, between the European governments and their hungry peoples.

But as each new point arose by which the various governments tried to snatch some other compensating value from the War, President Wilson found himself opposing each one in turn. He held firmly to the idea upon which the pledge of peace had first been based, that it was to be a "peace of justice" and not a "peace of vengeance." These two catchwords serve as guiding points to all the discussions of the

Conference. Never had delegates come to any such conference with fuller preparedness of information than was here possessed by the United States delegates. For two years past a commission had been gathering and arranging for them every possible item of knowledge on the European situation. As each nation claimed this or that, each found President Wilson fully informed and firmly set for what he accounted justice as opposed to its desires. Each opponent in turn disagreed with him, and blamed him. Soon he had scarce a friendly champion in Europe.

Each step in the long dispute was focused around some popular word by which the world understood or misunderstood it. The first test was that of the "mandatories." The Europeans had found one pleasing way for making Germany pay in part to every government; that was by dividing up among themselves all Germany's colonies. But America here insisted that the "peace of justice" for all peoples obviously required that these colonies should not be held as private property, that they belonged each to its own inhabitants, that only those incapable of self-government should be governed by Europeans, and that even then the "mandatory" ruler should rule only for the colony's own good, and only until its people could learn to rule themselves. This was a severe blow, especially to Britain's empire; and the British long opposed it. They yielded only when the great main purpose of the Conference, the rescue of the world from desolation, made yielding necessary.

There indeed lay the constant reason for the United States' control of the Conference. The other Powers needed her, and she did not need them. They needed her food, her money, her courage. Europe had to have peace quickly, before starvation came, and anarchy. To the United States these daunting specters were still far off and vague. She could dare to delay, to argue; she could even, if antagonism grew too bitter, withdraw from the Conference altogether.¹

At one time the opposition was so resolute that President Wilson openly threatened to do this, to leave Europe to settle her disputes without American aid. This course, Europe

¹ See § VI, "Problems of the Peace Conference," Borchard, etc.

knew, confronted her with the impossible. Perhaps what she needed above all else from America was that very detachment of interest which enabled the American delegates to weigh without prejudice the bitter problems of the older hemisphere. So anomalous was the situation that while each European diplomat disagreed with President Wilson, each trusted to him to arbitrate among them all, and to him alone. Thus when he actually ordered his ship and prepared on April 7th to leave for home, the other leaders accepted his policies once more.

The “League of Nations” had been on that occasion the chief theme under dispute, and France was Wilson’s main opponent. Prime Minister Clemenceau had frankly expressed his lack of faith in any such league; he would have erased it from the Peace Treaty altogether. Through all his lengthened life the “Tiger of France” had fought the German menace, and he had won the terrific fight at last. Could such a man, at such a moment, abandon the very method of his success! Let peace be maintained by keeping soldiers always in Germany, as Napoleon would once have maintained it, if he could. As for wars among the European Allies themselves, their mutual interest in suppressing Germany would keep them bound together. As for a league to which everybody belonged, and to which even Germany might some day be admitted as an equal—the “Tiger” had treated it with courteous but open scorn.

Still sharper opposition came when President Wilson championed “Greater Serbia” as against Italy in the “Fiume” dispute. He insisted that the Serbs must have free access to the Adriatic, while Italy dreamed of encircling the entire sea and making it, as ancient Venice once had made it, an Italian lake. In this dispute the Italian leaders even went so far as to withdraw from Paris; but when they found President Wilson was inflexible, they returned to the Conference, accepting, as Britain and France had accepted, the lesser disappointment for the greater need. They left to their more irresponsible compatriots, to the poet aviator, D’Annunzio, and his volunteer army, the seizure of Fiume

by force—a last appeal to the older methods of armed conquest, a definite though feeble voice given to the belief still secretly held in many hearts that the German viewpoint was the true one, after all, that force is the final arbiter, that man's passions are mightier than his wisdom, and that intensity of individual desire will in the end prevail.

The last of all the important controversies of the Peace Conference, and the one in which Wilson yielded most and has perhaps been most sharply blamed, was that with Japan. The Japanese delegates had come to the Conference with three points in view. They hoped to win more island colonies in the Pacific; they planned to confirm their hold upon Shantung, the Chinese region which they had captured from the Germans; and they eagerly desired a declaration of race equality which should place them fully on a level with all Europeans in any diplomatic negotiation of the future. The first point they yielded early in the Conference, when President Wilson's system of "mandatories" was accepted. The point of race equality the President could not grant; he knew that his own people of the western United States would never consent to it. They had a practical dread of being overrun and even crowded from their homes by Japanese immigrants. So here the President had no choice but to accept the will of his own people, just as Lloyd George had bowed to his, and the other European premiers to theirs.

To the Japanese at the Conference there remained, after these two refusals, only their third desire, Shantung. Since they already held it in possession and Germany had held it before during almost twenty years, the continuance of its temporary lease seemed a small concession to make to them. Moreover, the success of the entire Conference might easily have hung upon the refusal; for the strain of many antagonisms was already severe. The Japanese were in the same advantageous position as the Americans, in that they could afford to continue arguing indefinitely; they had no immediate need for peace. So President Wilson yielded as to Shantung; and, except for helplessly protesting China, the Peace Treaty was agreed upon among the Allies.

THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY

Germany was now summoned to receive the treaty, and her commissioners on first reading it were so horrified at its severity, or they so declared themselves, that they refused to sign it. Rather might the Allies march their armies in triumph over helpless Germany and plunder as they would! Fortunately the German parliament took a less defiant view. The governing Socialistic ministry did indeed resign from office; but other Socialists took control, and despite wide public protest, the government declared that it would sign the peace. In doing so the government agreed with every other German in asserting that the details of the peace were practically impossible of fulfillment. Nevertheless, the effort must be made. Other German commissioners were sent to Versailles, and on June 28th the Peace Treaty was signed.¹

It was quickly ratified by all the European nations concerned. The United States Senate, however, refused its ratification of the Treaty; and so the United States remained nominally, though not actually, at war with Germany through all the period here reviewed. The opposition to the Treaty in the United States was based partly on the Shantung issue, but mainly on that of the League of Nations, several points of which were regarded as favoring Britain unjustly, and several as being likely to involve America unduly in European quarrels.

EFFECTS OF THE TREATY

The signing of the Treaty, and its ratification by at least the European powers, closed the first period of that gradual process of reconstruction which must occupy the world for years. The Treaty did not definitely settle that largest question as to just what Germany shall pay. A "Reparation Committee" was appointed with power to investigate and decide the amount, and the minimum total of this was set below fifteen billion dollars, a sum enormous for enfeebled Germany, but yet not beyond possibility of payment. This sum could only be enlarged by unanimous consent of the

¹ See § IX, "The Peace of Versailles," Clemenceau, Kautsky, et al.

"Reparation Committee" on which the United States had a member and seemed thus able to exercise its disinterested restraint. The American delay in ratifying the peace, however, left this tremendously powerful committee wholly in European hands; and it not only enlarged the minimum of Germany's debt, but by encouraging the hope of huge future payments it served as a means of soothing the impoverished European peoples.

Beyond this perhaps inevitable financial vagueness, the Treaty accomplished important things. It confirmed the existence of three new and wholly independent States, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It did not fix the terms of peace for what was left of Austria and Hungary, nor for Bulgaria and Turkey; but it assured the continued existence of these nationalities. Minor details were left for future conference. The treaty with Austria, or rather with the tiny remaining Austrian Republic, was signed on September 20th, and with Bulgaria on November 27th: those with Hungary and Turkey were delayed until the summer of 1920. All positively Bulgarian territory was left to the Bulgarians, and so also with the Austrians and Hungarians. Even the Turks were assured of the independence of regions where there was a clear Turkish majority; though never again were they to be allowed dominion over any Christian region such as Armenia, or indeed over any subject race.

That, at least, the Great War had accomplished. The principle was universally accepted that men everywhere were to be free and self-governing, as soon as they were sufficiently civilized to be capable of self-government. The only anomaly remaining was in the rule of Ireland by the English; and even there the English had accepted at least the principle, and had pledged themselves to the ultimate granting of Irish self-government.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

As to the League of Nations, the other great outcome of the War, it went into immediate partial operation despite the serious crippling of it by the refusal of the United States

to join what her President had created. Much of the subsequent dealings with Germany were carried on through the machinery of this League. It is not dead; all men must hope that in some form some such association of the nations will survive. Whatever the wisdom or unwisdom of this particular league, upon some such union must the future of the human race depend. If mankind cannot find a means of larger organization, then mankind must perish. "To divide is to destroy." So deadly has modern science now made war, that it is a far other thing than in those older days when it was lightly called "The Sport of Kings," and when men could even praise it as a developer of strength and heroism. It has become to-day the threatening oblivion of mankind. If not the next war, then some war soon beyond must see the extermination of our human race. Through long ages we have at last reached the point where our destructive genius can accomplish extermination, and where it will accomplish this, unless our social genius for constructive harmony is rearoused and masters the destructive. Without some union, inspired from above and wisely taught and well-policed, man will inevitably be expunged from the universe, his own universe, as a mis-creation, a being too narrowly selfish, too stupidly contentious, too terribly potent, to be able to exist.

OCCUPATION OF THE RHINELAND

WESTERN GERMANY BECOMES A SUBJECT LAND

NOV. 23, 1918-JUNE 28, 1919

GABRIEL HANOTAUX
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The Armistice of November 11, 1918, arranged for the occupation by the Ally troops of all German territory west of the Rhine. This was to be the great symbol of Ally victory. It was also to make it impossible for Germany to renew her resistance if she objected to the peace terms imposed upon her.

With this in view the Armistice also included in the region of "occupation" three large "bridge-heads," that is, three regions on the east bank of the Rhine covering the chief passages across it. Thus the Rhine remained no longer a German line of defense. The Allies, being already across it, could march into the heart of Germany, with no single fortress, no single natural obstacle, to delay or oppose them. These three bridge-heads were at Cologne, of which the British forces took possession, Coblenz, which the Americans held, and Mainz or Mayence, which France had long possessed in ancient days and now held once again.

The Peace Treaty of June 28, 1919, turned the temporary occupation of these lands into a more extended one. For fifteen years at least, the Allies were to hold the western Rhine-bank, meanwhile giving up the bridge-heads one by one, Cologne first after only five years of occupancy. But the return of these regions to Germany was made conditional on her fulfilling every requirement of the Treaty. If she failed in this, as fail in some details she must, the occupation might extend indefinitely.

The actual entry of the Allies into Germany proper began on December 1st of 1918, on which date the American armies crossed the border near Treves and began their march to Coblenz. The Britons crossed from Belgium on December 3d and were in full possession of Cologne by the 14th. French troops at the time of the Armistice held already some nominally German soil in Alsace, and they occupied Metz, the great stronghold of Lorraine on November 25th. The truly German territory beyond Lorraine was entered on December 2d; and by the 15th the French banners had crossed the Rhine at Mainz.

Everywhere the Germans accepted the occupation quietly, even perhaps thankfully. It saved them from anarchy. When in 1919 the momentary investment was extended over years, it was accepted with equal calm. The Rhine provinces realized that they were fortunate

to escape all the tumult and internal war which racked central Germany.

In the following pages the picture of the French entry into Germany is drawn by Gabriel Hanotaux, the most noted of French contemporary historians, specially summoned by his government to see and record the event. Philip Gibbs, most noted of British war-correspondents, depicts his people's entry; and the general government of the Allies is described by the American war correspondent, Gregory Mason. The economic conditions and results are briefly summarized by the noted American economist, Frederic C. Howe.

BY GABRIEL HANOTAUX

A GREAT, a very great leader said to me, "It is fitting that a French historian should witness the crossing of the Rhine by soldiers of France." It was at once an invitation and a command. I took my departure. Thanks to the generous facilities afforded me, I made the difficult voyage. At Metz I found everything ready and Commandant Henri Bordeaux commissioned to be my guide.

We cross the frontier, leaving behind us the desolate scene of war, and arrive in that laughing valley of the Saar which assumes a look of tranquillity and civilization in measure as it recedes from the war zone. We advance towards the Wald, towards the hilly region of Hundsrück. We descend into little valleys, we climb hills. Night falls. The shadows thicken, the horizon closes, we do a hundred kilometers in the dark. The headlights shine ahead on the uninjured street, no more jolts or bounces; on and on goes the motor car.

Now houses begin to come thick and fast, a suburb, factories, chimneys still smoking, ateliers in which we see the silhouettes of men working behind a fire screen, wide streets.

Suddenly we arrive in a square full of light; the gleam of gay shop windows pours forth upon the sidewalks, a crowd gathers about the halted motor. Some are curious, some make advances, some are complacent. In a word, a city full of life, animation, and industry, it is Sarrebrück; we are having our first contact with war-time Germany. We are frankly surprised. The contrast is too violent; we have left the death of the front behind us and found life once more.

But many kilometers yet remain to be covered before

we shall reach our shelter. The motor car plunges into the night again. Narrow valleys, high hills, barred horizons. Our motor hums. Now we run alongside a huge convoy; now the beams of our lights reveal a poilu hunting for his quarters; then night again, the road, the hills, sentinels at barriers, cities, villages, towns, substantial and calm. A barrier rises before us; suddenly it falls, opens. A town with its lamps turned down. Kaiserlautern. We reach the quarters of the staff. Welcomed with the greatest friendliness by one of the noblest figures of the French army, we may begin immediately to note our first impressions, to ask something about the first contact with the enemy.

Commander-in-chief and poilu give us the same answer—their reception of the French is not hostile; our arrival is rather a relief for them. They were afraid of a revolution. But under their reserve hides a hidden something. Is it hostility? Embarrassment? It is perhaps an attitude of waiting. They are willing enough to have us come, and are, in a fashion, prepared to model their behavior on ours. Listen to the discourse pronounced here this morning by the *bürgermeister*. The discourse is a good one, skillfully *put together*, as they have it, but it is a little too much *put together*. The Mayor says, "We will concern ourselves with giving you satisfaction, although we have suffered greatly." You perceive the system—Solf's system. "Do what you will with us, we are powerless to resist. And in case you ask too much, it will not be our fault if a good, reposed peace should be swiftly followed by war."

We do not meet with a single threat. We find only a state of resignation, from which complaints and reproaches may rise. There is not the slightest appearance of the revolution. A great fear, an exaggerated fear of some danger to German well-being, to the comfort of the German burgess, to German industry; a good-will measured out drop by drop on the condition that it be profitable. Such is the secret of all one sees, the secret of a significant measure which has just reached our ears, *viz.*, that this municipality, on the very day of the entrance of the French troops, made French a prescribed study in the elementary schools.

On the following day at an early hour we walked about the streets. The factories and the schools were opening. It is then that one best studies the varied aspects of popular life.

Children here, children there, children everywhere. They run towards us on all sides and gather themselves into an extraordinary crowd—well clad, well shod, comfortably bundled up, little rosy faces under crowns of yellow hair, sometimes of brown hair (for brunettes are plentiful in this once Celtic countryside). All these little faces that stare at us, all these familiar, shining-eyed youngsters who throng about our motor car and look at our chauffeurs in uniform, all these children without a single exception are healthy looking. Their faces are full and round; they have not suffered. When I compare them with the poor, pitiful haggard-eyed children of our invaded regions!

There are many, very many workmen, a large number of them being young men. Few women. We see the different elements of a social life still intact, clergymen, schoolmasters, employees of the state and the city. In a word, all those who could decently keep out of the turmoil. All these watch us, wait for our coming. They reply willingly to our requests for information. They go out of their way; some salute. There is a marked but not excessive reserve. Along the streets our placid poilu strolls with his hand in his pockets, stopping before shop windows, asking his way from the girls for the fun of it. In a word, there is nothing particularly striking to this first meeting of Frenchman and foe.

En route! Here we are in the full blaze of daylight hurrying on through the country. We are going to Kreuznach, thence to Mainz by the shortest route along the valley. The city had surprised us a little by its tranquil air of not having suffered, by the “continuity” of its life. In the countryside our surprise was to amount almost to stupefaction.

This countryside is narrow and restricted. It lies along the valley and the road, a long alignment of fields and gardens. To the right and the left the climbing land rises to a double rampart of wooded hills. A stern land this, power-

fully molded by Nature for military purposes. History has taught us all this, for we are in the famous lines of Kaiserlautern—that citadel of the Rhenish provinces which dominates all Germany's gates into France and forbids the entry of France into Germany. Who holds this land holds our gates. Alas, the world knows this only too well, for it was simply because of this fact that the negotiators of 1815 gave this territory to Prussia.

In the villages and the towns more children, such a number of children that the chauffeur is forever having to dodge and stop. But here our chauffeur's task grows even more complicated, for he must avoid the barrage of hens. How they flutter and run!

In theory a hen is said to run under a wagon, but what are we to say when there are a thousand hens about? And when we reflect that a hen lives on the same cereals as a human being? Well, we have something to pause over. Horses, attached to wagons, to plows, to agricultural machines are to be seen everywhere on the streets and in the fields. I think of the state to which our French cavalry has been reduced. The fields are well kept and cultivated, not a meter of land has been allowed to lie waste. The vines are cultivated, pruned, and bound, not a twig lies on the ground. The straw lying about is fresh and clean. As far down the valley as the eye can see the squares of green and rose alternate in the fields. The well-rooted wheat shudders in the first chill of winter. I think of our fields, of our best fields, gone to waste and spotted with thistles. Haven't these people been at war?

We advance. A watering place: Kreuznach. Another French staff gives us a second generous welcome. The "Emperor's" dining room, the "Emperor's" office, the "Emperor's" table. He is far away now, the reprobate! We start once more. A new rendezvous. We arrive at dusk in a driving rain. We are at Mainz.

And now approaches the historian's hour. Would that I might reawaken some memories of our history here. Mainz, Cæsar, Napoleon, the siege by the French, the occupation. But the present does not allow us a return to the past.

At first view, the town is scowling, somber, and dark under the rain. They have assigned us quarters in a private house, for they have wished us to have a glimpse of the townsman. A comfortable interior, carpets, carved wood, heavy curtains, richly decorated ceilings, chocolate-colored walls, caramel bric-a-brac, an air of gross and over-abundant bourgeois luxury. And *copper, copper everywhere*. Yet they stole all of ours they could put their hands on, under the pretext that Germany needed copper! And here on a little table are eight copper ash trays, on the mantelpiece are a number of those hideous copper ornaments in which Boche taste delights, little copper wells, little copper clocks. To think, good heavens, of all our lovely chandeliers, all our admirable church candlesticks, our baptismal fonts, our bells, our brass ware melted down to save these *ordures*! But take warning, all this has a symbolic meaning! Germany ended the war to save just these things. She has preserved her well-being. *After having pillaged, she did not care to be sacked.*

I made these reflections while getting into an exceedingly comfortable bed belonging to a rich citizen of Mainz who, in very good French, protested against my intrusion. But I let him understand that I had no ear for his jests and that I had no intention of allowing myself to be put out in the street. "Monsieur, your folk came to my house, drank my wine, raided my cellar, carried off my furniture, my mattresses, my linen, my silver, *my copper*, and then they destroyed my house. This for the time being is my house. Don't worry, however, *for I shall leave it as soon as I possibly can*. For your house, monsieur, is perfectly unspeakable. Mine, in its lovely Louis XVI. delicacy, was a thing of exquisite beauty." He understands French, but I doubt if that penetrated his skull!

Now we must sleep. For to-morrow, at the break of day, General Leconte has said to me, "The earliest hour must find you at the bridge." The St. Quentin regiment, the 287th, will be *the first* to cross the Rhine. We shall be there, *mon Général!*

At dawn we were at the bridge of Mainz. General Le-

conte's division was to take possession of the other bank at seven o'clock. We decided to go ahead of it and await its coming.

At Mainz the river wears a majestic aspect. It rolled onwards, its gray and hurrying waves under a night-mist still clinging to the valley. Nevertheless, a pale glow strove to pierce its way through the clouds, and finally a rosy light, infinitely delicate, spread through the atmosphere and shone upon our troops drawn up along the bank.

The movement on the long and narrow bridge was already active. That bridge, ornamented with pylons, flanked by four heavy pavilions, and leaping in eight arches across the stream.

The general, accompanied by his staff, arrived on horseback. He dismounted at the entrance to the bridge, walked to the sidewalk and gave orders that the bridge was to be closed to general travel. The crowd being blocked at both ends, the space between swiftly emptied. All awaited in silence the stroke of seven. General Caron and his staff had joined General Leconte.

Seven o'clock! The drums beat, the bugles sound, the defile begins. The 287th regiment of infantry, the St. Quentin Regiment sets foot upon the bridge. In squads of eight, bayonets gleaming, their trampling step causing the great bridge to rumble, the soldiers surge forward towards the general who stands by the illuminating point of the central arch, his standard behind him.

The regiment advanced, the band going first, pounding and blowing for all it was worth. It advanced, disappeared, and soon the whole valley rang with the long echoes of the military march. The two banks awoke, caught up the tune, and replied one to the other. The *Sambre et Meuse* marked the step of our heroes. The soldiers came nearer, the hardy faces could be distinguished. Then came cyclists and men with dogs on a leash. The captain of the first detachment to pass saluted with his sword. The men, their faces turned to the man with the golden visor, passed on, rank after rank. And how many of these masculine figures must have had

hidden in his heart under the stern panoply of war, the smile that is born of the dream realized at last!

As the flag was about to pass him, the general, saluting with sword, said in a quiet tone to the surrounding officers, "Gentlemen, let us not forget that our dead also are passing by."

For the dead were at hand. The flag had brought them there in its folds. The immense landscape, of a sudden, seemed swept with light. The bridge itself, having caught the cadence of the passing troops, began to tremble, and soon, marking the passing steps, appeared to dance.

Bayonets gleaming, in ranks of eight, the soldiers passed. The staggering load of the infantryman on campaign bore but lightly that day upon their shoulders. Large and heavily built, they seemed that day to be nimble and alert. The balancing bridge appeared to lift them up. The blue casques grew into a long snake of steel, whose spiny back was formed by myriads of bayonets. Companies succeeded companies; the morning sun poured down on the white faces and black mustaches.

After the infantry came the cannons, the 75's wrapped in their black mantles, and held in leash like hounds. After the cannons the convoy wagons, ambulances, the interminable file of worn wagons drawn by lean-bellied horses, scrubs with long, worn coats; rattling harnesses repaired with rope, all this equipage, covered with the dust and mud of long roads, rumbled on, still laboring to further that sacred task born of so many hopes and desperate efforts.

While this formidable array was crossing from one bank to the other, the crowd assembled at both ends of the bridge remained apparently silent from stupor.

What were they thinking of? What comparisons were struggling in their minds? What overthrown dreams, what sorrows bare of consolation? Or was it the reawakening of a dream? Did they understand? Did they realize? It would seem not. Necks craned forward, with bulging eyes they watched the spectacle. Beneath them the Rhine, majestic and dark, rolled onward the tides of history.

BY PHILIP GIBBS

British report from Malmedy in Germany, December 3, 1918

British troops crossed the Belgian frontier and entered Germany to-day. Here and there some small children, watching from cottage windows or in their mothers' arms, waved their hands with the friendliness of childhood for all men on horses, and they were not rebuked. German schoolboys in peaked caps, with their hands thrust in their pockets, stared without friendliness or unfriendliness. Some girls on a hillside above the winding road laughed and waved their handkerchiefs. There was no sense as yet of passing through a hostile country where we were not wanted.

Round the hairpin turn we came down to Malmedy, lying in a narrow valley with some of its streets and houses climbing up the hillsides. It was a typical little German town, with here and there houses of the chalet style and houses of the modern country type in Germany, with wooden balconies and low-pitched roofs, and beyond very neat and clean-looking factories on the outskirts of the town. The shops were bright, and I saw a display of wooden soldiers and flaxen-haired dolls and toy engines as though for the German Christmas which is coming, and in one little garden there was a figure of the little old gnomelike Rumpelstiltzkin in my old copy of Grimm's "Fairy Tales."

It was surprising to hear that most of the people about one were speaking French. Some of us remembered then that Malmedy was not in Germany until after 1815, and that for a long time it was an independent little town belonging to a Belgian Abbey of great wealth and power before it was destroyed in the French Revolution. The people here were not typically German, and many of them at least had the neutral spirit of people who live close to the frontier and speak two languages, or three, as at Malmedy, where every one is equally familiar with German, French, and Walloon.

At Malmedy there was no sign whatever of hostility except the sullen look on the faces of some men who stared through the windows of a clubhouse and the gravity of other men who turned their heads away when the cavalry passed, as

10 OCCUPATION OF THE RHINELAND

though unaware of them. In many windows was a notice in German, which I read. It was an appeal by Burgomaster Kalpers, reading: "Citizens are earnestly requested to maintain great calm and order on the entry of the Entente troops into our city and to receive them with courtesy and dignity."

That wish was being carried out, and it was with politeness as well as dignity that the strangers were greeted in this first German town across the frontier.

Report From Cologne, December 14th

This morning at 10 o'clock our cavalry passed through the streets of Cologne, crossed the Hohenzollern Bridge, and went beyond the Rhine to take possession of the bridge-heads.

For some days not many British soldiers had been seen in the City of Cologne, the troops being camped in the outskirts, and it was only yesterday afternoon that the British Governor made his entry and established his headquarters in one of the hotels which had been taken over for the purpose. Crowds of German people gathered to see the man who will control their way of life during the British occupation, and were kept back in a hollow square by their own police when the Governor's motor car drove in with an escort of lancers, while a band of Scottish pipers played a greeting.

This morning the passing of the cavalry over the Rhine was an impressive sight for all the people of Cologne, and for the British was another historical episode on the long journey of this war, which has led at last to this river flowing now behind the British lines. To the German people the Rhine is the very river of their life, and down its tide come drifting all the ghost memories of their race, and its water is sacred to them as the fount from which their national legends, their old folk songs, and the sentiment that lies deep in their hearts have come forth in abundance.

In military history the Rhine has been their last line of defense, the moat around the keep of German strength; so to-day when British troops rode across the bridge and passed beyond the Rhine to further outposts it was the supreme sign of victory for them and of German defeat.

BY FREDERIC C. HOWE

The Germany of yesterday, armed, arrogant, imperialistic, is gone; gone, I believe, never to return. The Germany of to-day is broken, faced with bankruptcy, and if work is not found for her vast industrial population, she may, and very probably will, drift quickly into revolution.

Repentant? That is a difficult question. I think it must be answered in the negative. That she believes her ruling caste, Kaiser, Junker, and big industrialists caused the war there seems no doubt. That the Kaiser was the tool, possibly the unwilling tool, of Ludendorff, von Tirpitz, and the Crown Prince is widely held. That Germany will have to pay is accepted as inevitable. That she will come back for the recapture of Alsace-Lorraine and her indemnity is generally assumed by the French high military command. But these admissions do not spell repentance. They merely concede failure.

I have just returned from a fourteen days' motor trip through the occupied territories of South Germany. The tour was organized by the French Government immediately following the armistice. Its purpose was to witness the festivities in connection with the French occupation of Alsace-Lorraine, and to study the economic and industrial conditions of the occupied territory, which is held by the Allied armies as the main gauge of the terms of the armistice. The route was from Nancy to Metz, then along the Rhine to Mayence, thence to Coblenz, where the American army is in occupation, then on to Cologne with the British Expeditionary Force, and then through the whole of Belgium and the devastated regions of northern France, from Ypres to Paris. It included visits to General Pétain, who had just been made a Marshal of France; to General Fayolle, the great French strategist, and, finally, to General Mangin, "the wildcat of the French Army," beloved by all the soldiers and called in for impossible offensives on critical occasions. He is in command of the French advance forces at Mayence on the Rhine.

Along the national road which skirts the Moselle and the borders of France from Nancy to Metz, villages and farm-

houses greeted us with French flags, while the people smiled contentedly from their doorways as the caravan of French army motors flashed by. Metz, the capital city of Lorraine, for nearly fifty years under German occupation, was in gala attire, for Madame Poincaré was holding a Christmas festivity for four thousand school children, who gathered in the town-hall, clad in brilliant red and green Alsatian costumes, with short skirts, gay-colored silk shawls, and little white caps ornamented with the rosette of France. From the hands of the wife of the president these children received souvenirs of the reunion of Lorraine to France. Throughout the town of Metz were many signs of French occupation. German names had been stripped from the streets and German signs had been painted from store windows. Stores of questionable loyalty bore notices suggesting that the soldiers should not trade there. On the façade of the cathedral above the market-place we observed a statue of William II., representing David. His hands had been manacled and below was the inscription : "*Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.*"

We were followed from the reception by troops of children. Chattering in French, they told us how one thirteen-year-old child had been imprisoned for speaking French on the streets. The girls, who quite naturally repeated the gossip of their parents, complained that American soldiers were fraternizing with German girls; they told us that one officer had eloped with a German girl and that the soldiers accepted wine and food from the German residents. This story we heard continually in the occupied territory. But the fraternizing was not confined to Americans. French officers also danced with German girls in the cafés. So did the soldiers. Stringent rules have been laid down by the American commanding authorities, but, as one of them said sympathetically, "You can't prevent American boys from playing with children," and this they were doing wherever we went. The boys had come from the penetrating cold of northern France, they had been living for months without comforts, without a bath, without a home or home surroundings of any kind, and Metz, Mayence, and Coblenz, with their restaurants, theaters, concert-halls, and (most important of all) comfortable billets in

well-heated houses, were a joyous relief from the misery of the trenches.

There was in the spirit of the occasion something typical of the attitude of the French, British, and American armies. They were not there to humiliate the people or to emphasize the fact of victory: Rather they were on German soil to see that the war was at an end, that the people were fed, and that the life of the country should flow as freely as was consistent with the terms of the armistice.

One's feeling about war and about the hatreds of peoples was somewhat shaken, it is true, by the relations of the soldiers of all the armies and of the people as well. There were no disturbances of any kind, no clash between the military and civil authorities, no conflicts with the people. One might, in fact, have been in Germany in peace times, so far as the relations of people were concerned. The soldiers were happy that the war was over. The German people accepted the presence of the armies without protest, although there was an almost complete absence of well-to-do persons on the street when the troops went by. The people had a detachment from the whole business of war and peace. Their daily life went on much as it always had. Theaters and opera-houses presented productions of the same high order as before the war. The program of the symphony concerts at Mayence and in the Kursaal at Wiesbaden contained selections from French composers, while Mayence produced the opera, "If I were King," frankly admitting that it was from the French. There were crowds of French soldiers in the theaters and at the concerts, as well as in the shops and cafés, and they were treated with courtesy. They in turn were comporting themselves in a way to make friends for France, for there is a strong demand in the latter country that the frontiers shall be extended to the Rhine, to prevent the possibility of another surprise attack by Germany, and that the territory of the left bank of the Rhine shall be a neutral zone in which no military operations or preparations for war shall be made by either country.

Outside of Alsace-Lorraine the attitude of people seemed despondent. Hotel-keepers and business men said their country had little to look forward to but debt and indemnities.

There were few people in the shops. The formerly busy factories in the Saarbrücken coal districts, as well as along the upper Rhine and at Mayence and Cologne, were empty of workers, although the fields along the highways were cultivated as intensively as they had been before the war. Credit was unorganized, for the banks of Germany radiate out from Berlin, Dresden, and Frankfort, and there is little business communication between the two sides of the Rhine. The great iron deposits of Lorraine which were the source of much of Germany's wealth are now in the possession of France. The life-cord of Germany has been severed by the armistice, as it was by her blockade of the outside world.

Not that Germany seems industrially exhausted. The shops in the cities are filled with all kinds of merchandise, especially such merchandise as Germany can manufacture from iron and steel, from lumber and from those raw materials of which she has an abundance. But there is absolute exhaustion of many raw materials. I did not see a single German automobile in ten days' travel. There is no rubber in the country. It had been stripped for military purposes. Even the bicycles are on steel tires. Copper, too, is gone. To such an extent is this true that manufacturing plants, street-car lines, and other non-essential industries had been stripped of copper for military purposes.

The industrial interdependence of the world is seen in the breakdown of German industry. Mills and factories cannot operate without copper, rubber, cotton, wool, silk, and other raw materials which come only from America, Africa, and Asia. And Germany has none of these. In consequence her industrial life is at a standstill. It can only come to life again when the embargo is lifted and raw materials are permitted to come in. In the meantime German workmen are out of work. They are walking the streets. This is the human material from which the Spartacus movement recruits itself.

The people on the streets seemed healthy and strong. They were well-clothed, although they maintained that the clothes they wore had been bought before the war. Milk is rationed carefully, as it is all over Europe, but the price at the

milk stations was lower than in France and seemed adequate for rationing needs.

The market-places, which are the center of every German town, were filled with vegetables of great variety from the rich bottom lands on the left bank of the Rhine, which are still cultivated like a garden. The prices were very low.

The stories of food exhaustion in Germany seem to have been false, at least they have been exaggerated. And if the appearance of the people and the displays in the shops and market-places can be accepted as proof of anything, there is food in abundance for those who can buy. The trouble is not in an absence of food, but in an inability to buy food. The poor are out of work. The answer to the question, "What do people eat?" was always the same—"Potatoes." Potatoes three times a day. There is very little fat. In addition to potatoes, the poor get a little bread and occasionally some meat.

This was the condition in January and on the left bank of the Rhine. Food conditions in Prussia were worse, and German officials asserted that what food there was would be exhausted before spring, and the country would be in a starving condition before the next harvest could be gathered.

Industrial collapse from the embargo on wool, cotton, silk, rubber, copper, and food products, closed the mills and factories. This created destitution and suffering. For Germany, it is to be remembered, is primarily industrial. The supplies in the shops and the industries that were in operation were in those lines in which Germany was self-sufficient, such as iron and steel, machines, cutlery, lumber, and art products.

And this explains, in part at least, the military collapse of Germany. It was not only military, it was civil as well. While Marshal Foch was penetrating the German line and severing its connections the first week in October, the German soldiers in the reserve army and the people were being disrupted by disaffection, and by the activities of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, which everywhere came into existence as a result of hunger and the continued disillusion of the people. And in the days preceding the armistice the soldiers

back home refused to fight; they assembled in their barracks and demanded that the officers choose whether they would stand by the people or go with the army. And many of the officers chose the former alternative. Those who did not were permitted to go to the front. The soldiers stacked arms. They laid aside their military uniforms. The people decided that they would fight no longer. This was frankly admitted by people on the left bank of the Rhine.

Every suggestion of militarism in the territories visited was gone. In ten days' time I saw but one officer and not a single soldier in uniform. Even the caps had disappeared. Not a single Iron Cross or other military distinction was to be seen. The people, apparently by common consent, had shed themselves of military trappings and settled down in a kind of despair, waiting for the terms of the armistice to be announced.

Despair is not peculiar to Germany. Despair is universal among the common people. This is true of France, of Italy, of Belgium, and Great Britain. Europe is sitting as at a wake, waiting for politicians to quit talking and set the world to work. But little, if anything, is being done. This is the story that comes from all the countries. The promised indemnities are like a great fund that has poured in upon a community after some devastating flood. The people will not go to work until the fund is exhausted.

There have been ambitious investigations and reports. Plans have been made for placing the returning soldier on the land, for state undertakings on a large scale, for the building of workmen's homes; but the reports are already forgotten. Statesmen in these countries are discussing the terms of peace, when they should first have done their best to set their states in order. The rebuilding of homes, the organization of agriculture, the development of credit to aid the farmer and the shopkeeper, and, most important of all, the demobilization of the army—all these problems are drifting aimlessly. The big problem in Europe is the thirty million men who have to be gotten to work. For revolution is a stomach disease. One needs only to inquire of a policeman, a street-car conductor, a street-cleaner, to hear the same tale in substantially the same

back home refused to do what they assemed in their ~~best~~^{best} interest, and demanded that the ~~best~~^{best} officers stand by the people. The ~~best~~^{best} officers chose the ~~worst~~^{worst} men, and the ~~worst~~^{worst} men permitted to remain in the ~~best~~^{best} positions. They laid no blame on the ~~worst~~^{worst} men, but said that they would give up the ~~best~~^{best} posts held by people on the left. Every suggestion was ~~bad~~^{bad}, every proposal to have ~~the best~~^{the best} men removed was ~~bad~~^{bad}. Not a single ~~bad~~^{bad} proposal could be seen. The ~~best~~^{best} people had established themselves of ~~the best~~^{the best} positions in a kind of despair, waiting for the ~~worst~~^{worst} news to be announced.

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of Belgium and Germany. ~~They are~~ sitting as at a wake, waiting for ~~the best~~^{the best} people to come and set the world to work. But little, if anything, is being done. This is the story that comes from all the countries. The promised indemnities are like a great fund that has poured in upon a community after some devastating flood. The people will not go to work until the fund is exhausted.

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The War Makers

The ceremony when the Allies entered Metz, the Capital of Lorraine, December 8, 1918. General Pétain was created a Marshal of France and behind him lined up the famous soldiers here shown.

problem United States Government Photograp
y million men who have to be
rooted to work. For revolution is a stomach disease. One
can't easily to impure of a policeman, a street-car conductor,
a street-cleaner, to hear the same tale in substantially the same



terms. It is a story of potatoes for food, speculative prices, crushing taxes, and a distrust of governments.

BY GREGORY MASON

To disturb existing conditions as little as possible when compatible with the best interest of the general public is the principle which guides the Allies in governing the portions of German territory occupied by their troops under the terms of the armistice. The known admiration of the Germans for intelligence in the adoption of rules and consistency in the application of them has made the Allies proceed very carefully. It would not do, they think, to issue an ordinance in haste and then be obliged to ignore or change its application, for that would mean to lose face before the people they are governing, so potent is the German reputation for the love of logic and efficiency.

Whether the territory occupied is held by French, British, Belgian, or American troops, the administration of it is essentially an inter-Allied matter. Local commanders are allowed a good deal of discretion, but all general principles are determined by reference to an inter-Allied military commission or to Marshal Foch, as the head of the military forces of the Allies. Hence there is a great similarity in the way different sections of occupied Germany are administered, whether they are actually held by French, British, Belgians, or Americans. This unity of control is just as valuable in the administration of quasi-conquered territory as it was valuable in the actual prosecution of battles. For instance, the intention is to make the administration of this territory as humane as possible. The Belgians wanted to apply to the Germans the same harsh regulations which the Germans had used on them, but the inter-Allied directorate wisely blocked Belgium's natural desire to have "an eye for an eye."

This whole work of occupation goes through three phases: first, military occupation; second, the seizure of the means of administration; and, third, economic treatment of the occupied regions.

The military occupation is essentially police work. By whatsoever troops, it is performed in pursuance of rules laid

down by Marshal Foch. It has followed the same military zones into which the Germans divided the territory now occupied by the Allies. If Marshal Foch gave the word, the Allied army could advance instantly deep into Germany.

Marshal Foch's police rules are strict but not harsh. They are aimed to protect the people of the occupied zones, and they are softened everywhere as soon as the conduct of the natives justifies such relaxation. For instance, one of the first general rules in all the occupied zones was that the inhabitants must remain indoors from eight o'clock in the evening until six o'clock in the morning, but local commanders were given authority to relax it as they saw fit. When I was in Coblenz, the Americans had already allowed the people an extra hour on the streets in the evening, and at Kaiseraulzen the French had postponed curfew until half-past ten. The German *gendarmerie* is purely local in all the occupied zones, and much use has been made of it. Wherever there were German army officers in positions of responsibility in the *gendarmerie*, they were removed, the Allied policy being generally to trust local functionaries and to leave them in office whenever they can be used, but to dismiss all officials who were appointed by Berlin.

At first all use of telephones was forbidden to the inhabitants of occupied towns, but this rule has been relaxed also. In the French zone the natives are allowed telephone calls within their own city; while in Coblenz the Americans allow this and also permit the use of five trunk lines from the occupied territory into Germany proper. Thus a German in Coblenz may talk directly to a German in Berlin. Except in cases of extreme personal necessity, all such calls are supposed to be confined to the transaction of important business, and of course American army censors "listen in" on every call. This privilege was given to the Germans of Coblenz because it was found that the sudden and complete interruption of contact between the two banks of the Rhine caused a great deal of inconvenience and suffering.

The control of mails, like the control of telephones, has been relaxed somewhat already where it seemed safe to do so, and a restricted amount of business correspondence is per-

mitted between the left and right banks of the Rhine. But there has been no softening of the regulations in regard to the press and public meetings. A strict censorship against anti-Ally or pro-Bolshevist articles in the press is maintained, and no public meetings of any kind are tolerated without the permission of the local commandant, the sole exception being in the case of the German churches, which are allowed to hold services as usual. As a matter of fact, through the churches the Germans might carry on not a little propaganda, because the Allies are not so attentive to the utterances of preachers as they might be. But it is doubtful if they are hurting themselves much by this laxity. Indeed, a policy of broad toleration toward the German churches is probably wise. One of the elements most bitter against the French, in particular, has been the German Catholic clergy, who have distrusted the French because of the fame of French liberalism in religious matters and the separation of Church and State in France. In fact, many German Catholic clergymen apparently have thought that all Frenchmen were pagans, and already their press is beginning to express their astonishment at learning that such is not the case.

In approaching the problem of the civil administration of occupied Germany the Allies have, so far as practicable, made use of the existing German civil machinery of government.

The proper judicial and economic measures for occupied Germany are being worked out very carefully. The French are using a number of special technical advisers—French professors, manufacturers, etc. These men are working in commissions appointed to study particular subjects, and are also advising France on what her national economic policy ought to be. Special French economic commissions are with both the Eighth and Tenth French Armies, and are coöperating with a German economic commission. Subdivisions of these commissions are being established at sub-centers throughout the occupied zones.

A good deal of confusion has been caused by the sudden severance of relations between the left and the right banks of the Rhine. For instance, the Court of Appeal for Mayence is at Leipzig, which is outside of the zone of occupation.

Therefore the French are arranging to have a special Court of Appeal created to meet this need. Similarly, some of the ecclesiastical authorities for churches on the left bank of the Rhine live on the right bank, and the armistice has thus interrupted German church routine.

That part of the left bank which is held by the French is an industrial district whose chief products are coal and coke, and which produces little of its own food. Deprive this region of transportation and it would starve. The French, therefore, are not only sending in food by army truck trains, but are extending railways and Rhine shipping. This region needs raw materials. The French allow these to be brought across the river from Germany, but they are very careful what they allow to go into Germany from the left bank. All applications for the right to ship goods eastward across the river have to be submitted to an inter-Allied commission, and no manufactured articles are permitted to be bought from Germany proper if the same things can be obtained from Belgium or France.

Politics on the left bank of the Rhine are very amusing. The people have no such strong national feeling as the North Germans. This is partly because of a natural provincialism, and partly the result of history. Remember that all the country up to the Rhine was French for a time under Napoleon I., and that some of the country around Saarlouis and Saarbruck was French for a considerable period. Consequently the thought of being parted from the German Empire is not such a shock to the people of these southern towns as it would be to the people of northern Germany.

It was the Ebert Government with which the Allies concluded the armistice. They have therefore properly refused to deal with any other Government in Germany. They have disbanded the soviets wherever they have found them, and they are not aware that the native population has felt much injured thereby. Before the Allies came into full control various hasty laws were passed by various local German governments. These are disregarded by the Allies, and of the laws and general decrees of the old Imperial Government only

those are kept in force which are specifically approved by Foch.

The people of the left bank are waiting on events. They are ready to jump either way. The inhabitants of Saarbruck elected two sets of delegates to the Constituent Assembly. They elected conservative Clerical delegates to represent them in case the French should stay in occupation of their city, and they elected men from the Spartacus or extreme radical wing of Socialism to represent them in case the French should withdraw.

The whole Allied administration of the occupied zones is based on dignity, firmness, and a refusal to fraternize (theoretically at least), coupled with a regard for the best interests of the inhabitants. In fact, so light is the heel of the conqueror on their necks that some Germans do not believe that the Allies are conquerors at all. Their theory is that when the revolution came in Germany the German Government called in the Allies as trustees to care for its interests. As a proof of this some of these inhabitants of occupied Germany point to the easy conditions under which they are allowed to live and say, "No conqueror ever treated the conquered like this."

THE UNION OF "GREATER SERBIA"

FORMING THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

JANUARY 3, JUNE 28, 1919

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS
PRINCE ALEXANDER MADAME GROUITCH

One of the minor peculiarities of the reconstruction period following on the Armistice was that Serbia, which had fought so gallantly throughout the War, took no part in the Peace Conference that followed. That is, she took no part as Serbia. On January 3, 1919, word was sent out from her capital, Belgrade, to all the Allies then assembling at Paris, that Serbia no longer existed under that name but had completed her reorganization as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Under that name she participated in the Peace Conference; and the Conference, in the Peace Treaty signed on June 28, recognized for all Europe and confirmed the new name and the new kingdom.

What the new name really meant was that little Serbia had at last achieved her dream of the days before the War, by uniting with herself all the Slavic provinces of Austria, a territory larger than her own. She had also been joined by the other Serb State, Montenegro. Of these added Slavic peoples, the race known as the Slovenes were the most northern, centering around the formerly Austrian city of Laibach, which in their language they now call Liubljana. The Croats inhabited the more southerly Austrian region centering on Agram, which they call Zagreb. While south of these again lay the more distinctively Serbian peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina where the War had started. All of these peoples and the Montenegrins are known in common as the Jugo-Slavs or southern Slavs, and the new kingdom is often loosely called Jugoslavia.

The Jugoslavs began their active movement toward this union by the "Declaration of Corfu," here given. It was signed on July 20, 1917, by the statesman Pashitch, acting leader of the exiled Serbian government at Corfu, and by Dr. Trumbic, the leader of the Austrian Slavs who dwelt in exile in Paris.

As Austria began crumbling to pieces in 1918, her Slavic subjects dared to gather in a convention of their own at Laibach on August 16th. Early in October a committee chosen by this convention proclaimed its intention of working for a free, democratic, united Jugoslav State. Hungarian and Austrian troops offered but little opposition, though there was some sharp fighting in Fiume. Then, on

October 29th both at Laibach, now Liubliana, and at Zagreb, these regions were declared independent of Austria and of Hungary.

Meanwhile in Montenegro a similar desire for Jugoslavic unity resulted in decisive action by the Skupština or Great National Assembly which was chosen by the people by universal suffrage. This, on December 1st, passed the resolution here given, deposing its own king and seeking union with Serbia. On the same day a commission from the "National Council" of the formerly Austrian Jugoslavs visited Belgrade and presented to the Serbian regent, Prince Alexander, a request voted by their Council on November 24th, asking Serbia for an equal democratic union under the aged hero King Peter of Serbia. Their request and the regent's historic response are given here.

Following promptly upon this memorable meeting, the actual work of organizing the new kingdom was begun. Alexander was, of course, its Regent, and of its Prime Minister also there could be no question; for M. Pashitch, Serbia's Prime Minister, had been one of the great leaders of the War. With him was associated as Vice-Premier the president of the Zagreb Council, Dr. Koroshetz, a Slovene; and the cabinet included a Croatian, a Dalmatian, and afterward a Montenegrin. It was this government which completed the organization of the new union and proclaimed it to the world on January 5th. Some Montenegrins protested through devotion to their king whom the Skupština had deposed, and he himself denied their right to depose him. Some of the Austrian Slavs have expressed preference for a republic. But upon the whole the new kingdom, especially since its formal recognition by the Peace Treaty, seems destined to survive.

THE DECLARATION OF CORFU

The first step toward building the new State of Jugoslavia

1. The State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known by the name of Southern Slavs or Jugoslavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with an indivisible territory and unity of power. This State will be a constitutional, democratic, and Parliamentary monarchy, with the Karageorjevich dynasty, which has always shared the ideals and feelings of the nation in placing above everything else the national liberty and will at its head.

2. The name of this State will be the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the title of the sovereign will be King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

3. This State will have one coat-of-arms, only one flag, and one crown.

4. The four different flags of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will have equal rights, and may be hoisted freely on

all occasions. The same will obtain for the four different coats-of-arms.

5. The three national denominations, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, are equal before the law in all the territory of the kingdom, and each may freely use it on all occasions in public life and before all authorities.

6. The two Cyrillic and Latin alphabets also have the same rights and every one may freely use them in all the territory of the kingdom. The royal and local self-governing authorities have the rights and ought to employ the two alphabets according to the desire of the citizens.

7. All religions are recognized, and may be free and publicly practiced. The Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Musulman religions, which are most professed in our country, will be equal, and will enjoy the same rights in relation to the State. In view of these principles, the Legislature will be careful to preserve the religious peace in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our entire nation.

8. The Gregorian calendar will be adopted as soon as possible.

9. The territory of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will comprise all the territory where our nation lives in compact masses and without discontinuity, and where it could not be mutilated without injuring the vital interests of the community. Our nation does not ask for anything which belongs to others, and only claims that which belongs to it. It desires to free itself and establish its unity. That is why it conscientiously and firmly rejects every partial solution of the problem of its freedom from the Austro-Hungarian domination.

10. The Adriatic Sea, in the interests of liberty and equal rights of all nations, is to be free and open to all and each.

11. All citizens throughout the territory of the kingdom are equal, and enjoy the same rights in regard to the State and the law.

12. The election of Deputies to the national representation will take place under universal suffrage, which is to be equal, direct, and secret. The same will apply to the elections in the communes and other administrative institutions. A vote will be taken in each commune.

13. The Constitution to be established after the conclusion of peace by the Constituent Assembly elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage will serve as a basis for the life of the State. It will be the origin and ultimate end of all the powers and all rights by which the whole national life will be regulated. The Constitution will give the people the opportunity of exercising its particular energies in local autonomies, regulated by natural, social, and economic conditions. The Constitution must be adopted in its entirety by a numerical majority of the Constituent Assembly, and all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly will not come into force until they have been sanctioned by the King.

Thus the united nation of Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes will form a State of twelve million inhabitants. This State will be a guarantee of their national independence and of their general national progress and civilization, and a powerful rampart against the pressure of the Germans, and an inseparable ally of all civilized peoples and States. Having proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and of international justice, it will form a worthy part of the new society of nations.

Signed at Corfu, July 20, 1917, by the President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, Nikola Pashitch, and the President of the Jugoslav Committee, Dr. Anto Trumbic.

DECREE OF THE MONTENEGRIN SKUPSHTINA

Passed on December 1, 1918

Taking into consideration the historical tendencies as well as political and economic interests of Montenegro, the Great Skupshtina, elected by the people of Montenegro and assembled at Podgoritzia, has decided:

1. To depose the King, Nicholas Petrovich Niegush;
2. To effect the union of Montenegro with Serbia under the Karageorgevich dynasty and its entrance into the common fatherland of Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenes;
3. To elect a national committee specifically charged with the conduct of the affairs of Montenegro united with Serbia, and

4. To communicate this decision to former King Nicholas and to the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as to the Governments of the Allied and neutral powers.

ADDRESS FROM THE JUGOSLAV NATIONAL COUNCIL

Sent from the Council at Zagreb on November 24, 1918, and delivered at Belgrade to the Regent of Serbia on December 1st

The National Council desires that a national representation should be established by agreement with the National Council and the popular representatives of the Kingdom of Serbia, and that the Government should be made responsible, according to modern parliamentary principles, to this representation, which would sit in permanence until the Constituent. For the same reasons the former administrative and autonomous institutions would remain in vigor. In this period of transition it is in our opinion necessary to create the conditions for a definite organization of one unitary State. With this end in view, the Government should prepare the Constituent, which, according to the proposal of the National Council, would be elected on the basis of secret, universal, and proportional suffrage, and convoked at latest six months after the conclusion of peace.

At this historic moment, when we appear before your Royal Highness as representatives of all the Jugoslav territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, we are profoundly grieved to observe that large portions of our national soil are occupied by the troops of the Kingdom of Italy, which is allied with the Entente Powers, with whom we desire to live in friendly relations. But we cannot recognize any contract, not even that of London [the Treaty of April, 1915], by virtue of which, in violation of the principle of nationalities, we should be obliged to surrender part of our nation to other States.

We draw your Royal Highness's attention to the fact that the Italian occupation far exceeds the limits and regions provided even by the clauses of the armistice, which was concluded with the Commander in Chief of the former Austro-Hungarian Army long after these territories had been declared an independent and integral portion of the State of the

Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Of this we will furnish proofs to the Government of your Royal Highness.

In full conscience we express our hope that your Royal Highness, with our whole nation, will endeavor to secure that the final frontiers of our State shall be drawn in conformity with our ethnographic frontiers and with the principles put forward by President Wilson and the other Entente Powers. Long live his Majesty King Peter! Long live your Royal Highness! Long live the nation of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes! Long live free and united Jugoslavia!

BY PRINCE ALEXANDER OF SERBIA

His reply to the above Address

It is only by the historic decision which the National Council of Zagreb has reached that we realize finally what was begun by the best sons of our race of three religions and three names on either side of the Danube, Save, and Drina, under the reigns of my grandfather, Prince Alexander, and of Prince Michael. We thus realize what corresponds to the wishes and desires of my people, and in the name of King Peter I proclaim the unity of Serbia with the provinces of the independent State of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in the Unitary Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. May this great historic act be the best reward of all your efforts and of all who have shaken off the yoke of the foreigner by your bold revolution.

I assure you that I and my Government and all who represent Serbia will always be guided solely by brotherly love toward all that is most sacred in the souls of those whom you represent, and in the sense of the wishes which you have just expressed—wishes which we accept in their entirety—the Government will at once take steps to realize all you have said for the period of transition until the Constituent and for the elections. Faithful to my father's example, I shall only be the King of free citizens of the State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and I shall always remain loyal to the great constitutional, parliamentary, and democratic principles resting upon universal law. I shall therefore ask your collaboration in forming the Government which is to represent our

united country, and this Government will always be in contact with you all at first, and eventually with the national representation. It will work with it and be responsible to it.

With the National Assembly and the whole nation, the Government's first duty will be to endeavor to secure respect for our nation's ethnographic frontiers. Together with you all, I have the right to hope that our great allies will form a just appreciation of our standpoint, for it corresponds to the principles which they themselves have proclaimed and for which they have shed so much blood, and I am sure that the world's hour of liberty will not be stained by placing under a fresh yoke so many of your valiant brothers. I hope also that this standpoint will be admitted by the Government of Italy, which also owes its birth to the same principles that have been so brilliantly interpreted by the pen and acts of its great sons of the last century.

I venture to say that in the respect for these principles and traditions, and in the consciousness of our friendship, the Italian people will find greater well-being and security than in the realization of the Treaty of London, which was signed without you, never recognized on our part, and drawn up in circumstances when the fall of Austria-Hungary was not foreseen.

In this work and in all other respects I hope that our people will remain united and powerful to the end. It will enter the new life, proud and worthy of the greatness and happiness that await it. I beg you to give my royal greeting to all my dear brothers throughout free and united Jugoslavia. Long live the whole people of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes! May our kingdom be ever happy and glorious!

BY MADAME SLAVKO GROUITCH

Being an American married to a Serbian and having spent my early years in Europe as a traveler and student, it was as a cosmopolitan that I came to Serbia. Here for the first time in my European wanderings I had the impression of reaching home, so very similar were the conditions of life to those of my native state, West Virginia. The resemblance extended to the atmosphere of the home and to customs

of farms and villages, but more particularly to that attitude of mind towards life which we consider peculiarly American, and which I may describe as liberty so great that it is not conscious of laws. The Serbian people have a conception of duty toward the state and a public-spiritedness from choice which I have encountered elsewhere only in Switzerland and the United States. No change was necessary in order to meet the women and men of my adopted country. They knew more about America than America did of them.

I soon learned that the singleness of patriotic purpose which had impressed me in my husband was peculiar to every one I met from King to peasant, from prime minister to goat's herdsman. All were dreaming, as their forefathers had dreamed for centuries, of a united Jugo-Slav kingdom which should include the whole 13,000,000 of their race. As I listened I wondered.

There were barely three and a half million souls in the little Serbia of that day. To the south there was a region spoken of as Old Serbia, because there had arisen the Serbian kingdom of the eleventh century; beyond that was the region we speak of as Macedonia (and which in my mind, until I became Serbian, had not been associated geographically with the Balkans) containing a million and a half inhabitants of pure Serbian race still under Turkish rule. I learned very quickly of loyal little Montenegro—proud of the fact that in the veins of every peasant was the blood of the heroes who had survived from the great battle of Kossovo in 1389, in which the Serbian people had lost their independence, all but that one towering citadel. I learned of Croatia, which I had, in common with most people, always thought of as a province of Austria; of Dalmatia with its republican traditions; of the Adriatic, a kind of Floridian Indian River bordered with pleasure resorts for the opulent Viennese. Very few people had ever realized until lately that this inland sea was as essential to the life of the peoples who bordered upon it as are the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to the United States.

As I listened to statesmen and people making prophecies of the day when all these would be united to Serbia from that farthest point on the map, called Carinthia, to that extreme

point called Monastir—I felt it could happen only a long time after I should have passed away. Nevertheless, within the period of fifteen years I have seen these dreams come true. I myself have witnessed the tragedies—and there have been many—which have brought about the conquest of Old Serbia and of Macedonia, the liberation of Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Dalmatia, and also the invasion of Serbia and Montenegro during the war. I have seen the miracle accomplished, and the wonder of it is that it was brought about by impulsions as irresistible as those which “rule the stars and tides.” Every little child felt them; every little child contributed; its mother tossed it playfully in the air naming the great Serbian battles in a nursery rhyme; its mother put it to bed in poverty and simplicity, teaching it how to live humbly but to think grandly, sublimely, patriotically.

As the years went by and my diplomatic home was in Russia and afterwards in England—the two countries to which Serbia looked for aid in the achievement of her dream—I came only from time to time to my adopted people. But always their first words were of this wonderful thing that was in the bud, waiting to happen—and yet, so far as I could see, with no preparation for it, any more than there is external action to hasten the coming of spring. In Serbia as well as in all the allied countries at that time there were hopes for arbitration on the questions of liberty of peoples and territorial boundaries. It was the period when the Czar and England made the most intense concessions in settlement of ancient disputes to unite in an Entente with France to prevent war. I watched this accord with a certain fear, because I felt that it surely would mean the buckling in of the aspirations of my adopted people. How were the Jugo-Slavs all to be freed and united if there were an Entente to preserve that present state of injustice?

The Great Entente was made in 1906. Shortly afterward I went home to Serbia. Naturally I talked with every one I met of the new conditions. No one showed depression. The answer invariably was, “It will come about. It is bound to come.” I was in England when in 1908 Austria-Hungary, as an act of defiance to the Entente, forcibly annexed the two

provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The whole Jugo-Slav nation went into mourning for a deed that seemed to fasten the chains of despotism that much more firmly upon the greater portion of its race, but did not cease to repeat, "The hour of our deliverance will soon be at hand." Then came the war of 1912. I was sent on a mission here to my own country as the representative of the Serbian Red Cross, to ask aid for the sick and wounded soldiers who filled our hospitals. As a child I had heard from American missionaries of the horrors of the Turkish rule long before I had learned them from the stories of my adopted people who had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Turks in Macedonia, and therefore I was astonished to find so little understanding of the causes of the Balkan war, so little sympathy for the suffering that was taking place in the Balkans. I believe the United States contributed ten times as much for relief to Turkey at that time as it contributed to any of the Balkan States. Again I asked myself, "Whence the help that is to liberate and unite Jugoslavia, if England, France, Russia, and America combine in the idea that no people shall ever again rise and call out for its own freedom?"

In 1913 there came the terrible tragedy of the Serbian-Bulgarian war, when I saw our Balkan block torn asunder by the agonizing torment of civil war—for war between sister nations is surely civil war. It seemed to me then that the dream of liberty and union for the Jugo-Slavs would fade into yielding, as had been once before the case in Serbian history when the late King Milan declared that Serbia was in the position of a young woman who had a strong affection and inclination for one young suitor—in that case the suitor was Russia—but who must make a *mariage de raison* with Austria. A secret treaty that would afford to Serbia greater economic prosperity, at the expense of Jugo-Slav freedom, was concluded between the King, his ministers, and the Austro-Hungarian government. The result of that deflection from the dream was that the King had to abdicate, for the Serbian people repudiated a concession that should be for their material profit, but would enslave further their brethren in Austria-Hungary.

In 1913, looking conditions in the face, I could not see the way out to freedom and union for the Slavs of Austria. The great nations of the Entente had decreed a long era of peace, for which the weak peoples must pay the price in self-restraint, humiliation, and degradation.

Nowhere about me—in our own legation or in the allied countries—had I heard the suggestion that the liberty bells would ring in July, 1914, for Jugoslavia as they had rung in July, 1776, for this country. But the dream began to come true. The first cannon shot across the Danube proclaimed that the hour had come; that the beginning had been made, made by Austria-Hungary herself in an attack on the free peoples of Serbia. The beginning was not made by dreams of freedom, for the enslaved peoples of Austria-Hungary had never descended to plans for ruthless slaughter of women and children, as was done by the bombardment of the Serbian capital before its population could flee towards the interior of the country.

In the months that followed—when three times the Serbian people, though unaided by their allies and with insufficient ammunition for their cannon, resisted the invasion and overthrow of their country; with the dead so close together that I had to step over them in our hospitals to reach the living soldiers lying on straw; without any means of dressing wounds; with disease claiming thousands of victims—how could one hope for victory? And yet I saw hope on every face. No man in authority throughout those terrible months ever within my hearing spoke of a separate peace, of capitulation or surrender. And our splendid old prime minister when asked to capitulate on terms so advantageous to Serbia that it would have seemed at that time wisdom to accept them, replied: “Better to die in glory than to live in shame.”

In the month of December, 1914, there happened a real miracle in Serbia, despite the fact that one-third of the country, and that the best of the farming and industrial region, had been invaded by the enemy. With one single railway line from Salonika supplying its economic and military needs, the Serbian army maneuvered its forces until the enemy was routed and driven from its country.

For eight months longer Serbia maintained her own frontiers, Austria being powerless until Germany and Bulgaria joined with her in a fresh attempt at invasion. This time they succeeded in cutting the railway line, encircled our forces, and compelled a general retreat to the Adriatic coast.

For three months, October, November and December, 1915, we tramped over those terrible mountains of Albania without food, without shelter, leaving thousands of dead by the roadside. Day by day I watched the faces of the Serbian statesmen, officers, and soldiers who escorted the diplomatic caravans, in one of which I had been placed. With that curiosity of the American intelligence to probe the very essence of other people's souls I eavesdropped at their minds to know what they were thinking now that their country was invaded, their army forced to retreat, their women and children given over to martyrdom, and all that the army had accomplished in 1912 and 1913 lost by retreat. We were retracing the steps of the victorious army of 1912—retracing them as a defeated army. Where were their hopes of union now? The answer was, "We are bound for Salonika to join our allies and fight for the freedom of Serbia and of Jugoslavia."

With their people scattered, their government living in a borrowed Greek island, it seemed futile to speak of Serbia as a nation. They were reduced to just a little group of men depending upon their allies for money to pay their army, to feed their prisoners of war, and the few thousands of their own people in exile all dependent upon the charity of the allied nations, including America, which, although not as yet an ally, had shown its sympathy and charity. Inside the country the women and children wept under the martyrdom meted out to a conquered people. They were tortured by the Bulgarians, and oppressed in every conceivable way by the Austro-Hungarians, and yet the army and government dreamed and worked for the deliverance, not only of Serbia but of the whole Jugo-Slav nation. The prisoners in German camps, the martyrs under the Bulgarian lash dreamed of Jugo-Slav freedom.

While America played a glorious and noble part in that deliverance, the action on the Western front was, of course,

the event that permitted the attack on the South. Was it not the will of Divine Justice, as well as by consent of the great Ally commander to whom we all owe so much, that the Serbian army, a few thousands of men, the remnant of the nation, should aim the first decisive blow of Allied victory? The advance of the Serbian troops over mountains so high that only eagles or aeroplanes could be supposed to cross them struck the final blow for Jugo-Slav liberty, and the blow struck in the Macedonian mountains resounded to the extreme limits of Jugoslavia. "Where are you going?" asked a general of the French army of a Serbian wounded soldier whom he met on the road bleeding from a wound in the head. "That's not the way to the hospital." "I am not going to the hospital—I am going to Serbia and beyond that—I am going home to free Bosnia!" Within a month the face of every soldier of the Jugo-Slav forces was set towards home and the fight still to come for the liberation of the Slav provinces of Austria. There were men from Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina as well as from Serbia fighting in that army—citizens all of a united kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the national trinity of the Southern Slav race.

They found their country in a terrible condition. There were no roads; the population which came out to meet them was in rags; there was no fire; roofs had been taken off of the houses, floors had been torn up, even windowsills and doorsills had been burned by the enemy. The trees had been cut down in their cemeteries; and in certain sections in an effort to prove that the population was other than Serbian, the very names had been erased from the tombstones. But what did it matter? That for which the Slav peoples had toiled and died throughout a thousand years of conscious history had been accomplished—their complete freedom and union. I, an adopted daughter, have lived this Gethsemane of a people—this apotheosis of a nation—as a Serbian woman; my heart beating with the wonder and the glory of the sacrifice.

Now that this great inspiring gift of freedom and union has come to my adopted people, if we in Jugoslavia may look forward to a century of union and development of our material, ethical, and moral forces, and to the assimilation of

whatever foreign elements there may be within our borders, the decisions of our peoples to rule themselves cannot but aid to promote the peace of the world. The rights of self-determination cannot apply to a single town, or one side of a street; certain minorities must remain even after the wisest alignment of frontiers. Unhappily one cannot ask for the freedom of all the Jugo-Slavs: there are Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes who must be content with other citizenship, although they have racial rights to be a part of this wonderful Jugoslavia.

The broad lines of the Slav nationality with its open-minded religious tolerance offers guarantees to religious liberty: the Orthodox faith under the Patriarch of Constantinople is very like that of our own Episcopal Church. Among the Catholics of Croatia and Slovenia there exists a feeling of brotherhood towards the other religions of their nationality, as shown by the fact that many dignitaries of the Catholic Church in those states helped loyally to lead the movement for freedom. In no country in the world does the Jew have greater opportunity and honor than he has in Serbia and than he will have in the whole of the new Jugo-Slav kingdom if he proves himself as good a citizen there as he is in Serbia. For the Turk I have seen proofs of tolerance in the efforts to preserve Mosques, and Moslem schools, ordered by our Crown Prince. After the war of 1912 every assistance was given to Turkish women from Macedonia who wanted to go to Turkey to look for their husbands, or for their bodies if dead.

In my travels about Macedonia I have remarked the just treatment of the Serbian authorities towards the other nationalities, Greeks, Turks, Albanians, and Bulgars, and have discussed with them the fact that it is perfectly possible for people of different strains of blood to live together under the same flag and same government, if equal rights of citizenship are accorded to all their citizens. I believe firmly that we, the Slavs—if aided by America in this difficult hour of our transition when we suffer physically and mentally from the ravages of war—will be able to construct quickly a United States of the Balkans, and that before many years we may yet hold that Educational Peace Conference at Vienna which was interrupted by the Austrian ultimatum.

THE OPENING OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

THE ALLIES' EFFORT AT THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WORLD

JANUARY 18, 1919

PRESIDENT POINCARE
DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
GEORGES CLEMENCEAU
STEPHANE LAUZANNE

PRESIDENT WILSON
BARON SONNINO
SISLEY HUDDLESTON
MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

The Peace Conference of Paris, which in 1919 began the work of reconstructing the shattered world, was unique in this: it was a conference representing only one party to the War. So complete had been the defeat of the Central Powers that they were given no voice in deciding the terms of peace. They were at the mercy of the Allies. In their surrender they had asked and had been promised that the terms should be based upon President Wilson's "fourteen points"; but the Allies had expressly warned them that the meaning of these points was to be interpreted solely by the Allies. Diplomats have always known, Germany herself knew well, that the words of any document can be so interpreted, so distorted, so misapplied as to mean almost anything. But Germany had no longer any choice. She placed herself wholly in the hands of the nations she had so deeply wronged.

The first formal meeting of the Peace Conference was held in the splendid hall known as the Clock Salon in the great government building of the Quai d'Orsay in Paris. All the peace delegates from all the Ally Powers were there; and the meeting consisted only of the formal addresses here presented, beginning with the welcoming address of Raymond Poincaré, President of France, followed by the brief speeches of the chief representatives of the United States, Britain and Italy naming Premier Clemenceau for President of the Conference, and closing with his speech of acceptance, after the formality of his pre-arranged election.

Following this actual reproduction of the opening words of the Conference, we present the vivid account of its difficulties by the British official observer present, Sisley Huddleston, and also the outline of its purposes by the celebrated French writer, Lauzanne. That Germany, though in no way present, may not be left entirely out of the picture, we close with the characteristic judgment and comment upon the Conference made at the time by that most outspoken of German celebrities, Maximilian Harden.

THE OPENING SESSION OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

President Poincaré's inaugural speech

GENTLEMEN—France greets and welcomes you and thanks you for having unanimously chosen as the seat of your labors the city which, for over four years, the enemy has made his principal military objective and which the valor of the Allied armies has victoriously defended against unceasingly renewed offensives.

Allow me to see in your decision the homage of all the nations that you represent towards a country which, still more than any others, has endured the sufferings of war, of which entire provinces, transformed into vast battlefields, have been systematically wasted by the invader, and which has paid the heaviest tribute to death.

France has borne these enormous sacrifices without having incurred the slightest responsibility for the frightful cataclysm which has overwhelmed the universe, and at the moment when this cycle of horror is ending, all the Powers whose delegates are assembled here may acquit themselves of any share in the crime which has resulted in so unprecedented a disaster. What gives you authority to establish a peace of justice is the fact that none of the peoples of whom you are the delegates has had any part in injustice. Humanity can place confidence in you because you are not among those who have outraged the rights of humanity.

There is no need of further information or for special inquiries into the origin of the drama which has just shaken the world. The truth, bathed in blood, has already escaped from the Imperial archives. The premeditated character of the trap is to-day clearly proved. In the hope of conquering, first, the hegemony of Europe and next the mastery of the world, the Central Empires, bound together by a secret plot, found the most abominable pretexts for trying to crush Serbia and force their way to the East. At the same time they disowned the most solemn undertakings in order to crush Belgium and force their way into the heart of France. These are the two unforgettable outrages which opened the way to aggression. The combined efforts of Great Britain, France,

and Russia broke themselves against that mad arrogance.

If, after long vicissitudes, those who wished to reign by the sword have perished by the sword, they have but themselves to blame; they have been destroyed by their own blindness. What could be more significant than the shameful bargains they attempted to offer to Great Britain and France at the end of July, 1914, when to Great Britain they suggested: "Allow us to attack France on land and we will not enter the Channel"; and when they instructed their Ambassador to say to France: "We will only accept a declaration of neutrality on your part if you surrender to us Briey, Toul, and Verdun"? It is in the light of these memories, gentlemen, that all the conclusions you will have to draw from the war will take shape.

Your nations entered the war successively, but came, one and all, to the help of threatened right. Like Germany, Great Britain and France had guaranteed the independence of Belgium. Germany sought to crush Belgium. Great Britain and France both swore to save her. Thus, from the very beginning of hostilities, came into conflict the two ideas which for fifty months were to struggle for the dominion of the world—the idea of sovereign force, which accepts neither control nor check, and the idea of justice, which depends on the sword only to prevent or repress the abuse of strength.

Faithfully supported by her Dominions and Colonies, Great Britain decided that she could not remain aloof from a struggle in which the fate of every country was involved. She has made, and her Dominions and Colonies have made with her, prodigious efforts to prevent the war from ending in the triumph of the spirit of conquest and the destruction of right.

Japan, in her turn, only decided to take up arms out of loyalty to Great Britain, her great Ally, and from the consciousness of the danger in which both Asia and Europe would have stood, for the hegemony of which the Germanic Empires had dreamt.

Italy, who from the first had refused to lend a helping hand to German ambition, rose against an age-long foe only to answer the call of oppressed populations and to destroy at

the cost of her blood the artificial political combination which took no account of human liberty.

Rumania resolved to fight only to realize that national unity which was opposed by the same powers of arbitrary force. Abandoned, betrayed, and strangled, she had to submit to an abominable treaty, the revision of which you will exact. Greece, whom the enemy for many months tried to turn from her traditions and destinies, raised an army only to escape attempts at domination, of which she felt the growing threat. Portugal, China, and Siam abandoned neutrality only to escape the strangling pressure of the Central Powers. Thus it was the extent of German ambitions that brought so many peoples, great and small, to form a league against the same adversary.

And what shall I say of the solemn resolution taken by the United States in the spring of 1917 under the auspices of their illustrious President, Mr. Wilson, whom I am happy to greet here in the name of grateful France, and, if you will allow me to say so, gentlemen, in the name of all the nations represented in this room? What shall I say of the many other American Powers which either declared themselves against Germany—Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras—or at least broke off diplomatic relations—Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay? From north to south the New World rose with indignation when it saw the empires of Central Europe, after having let loose the war without provocation and without excuse, carry it on with fire, pillage, and massacre of inoffensive beings.

The intervention of the United States was something more, something greater, than a great political and military event : it was a supreme judgment passed at the bar of history by the lofty conscience of a free people and their Chief Magistrate on the enormous responsibilities incurred in the frightful conflict which was lacerating humanity. It was not only to protect themselves from the audacious aims of German megalomania that the United States equipped fleets and created immense armies, but also, and above all, to defend an ideal of liberty over which they saw the huge shadow of the Imperial Eagle encroaching farther every day. America, the

daughter of Europe, crossed the ocean to wrest her mother from the humiliation of thraldom and to save civilization. The American people wished to put an end to the greatest scandal that has ever sullied the annals of mankind.

Autocratic governments, having prepared in the secrecy of the Chancelleries and the General Staff a map program of universal domination, at the time fixed by their genius for intrigue let loose their packs and sounded the horns for the chase, ordering science at the very time when it was beginning to abolish distances, bring men closer, and make life sweeter, to leave the bright sky towards which it was soaring and to place itself submissively at the service of violence, lowering the religious idea to the extent of making God the complacent auxiliary of their passions and the accomplice of their crimes; in short, counting as naught the traditions and wills of peoples, the lives of citizens, the honor of women, and all those principles of public and private morality which we for our part have endeavored to keep unaltered through the war and which neither nations nor individuals can repudiate or disregard with impunity.

While the conflict was gradually extending over the entire surface of the earth the clanking of chains was heard here and there, and captive nationalities from the depths of their age-long jails cried out to us for help. Yet more, they escaped to come to our aid. Poland came to life again and sent us troops. The Czecho-Slovaks won their right to independence in Siberia, in France, and in Italy. The Jugoslavs, the Armenians, the Syrians and Lebanese, the Arabs, all the oppressed peoples, all the victims, long helpless or resigned, of great historic deeds of injustice, all the martyrs of the past, all the outraged consciences, all the strangled liberties revived at the clash of our arms, and turned towards us, as their natural defenders. Thus the war gradually attained the fullness of its first significance, and became, in the fullest sense of the term, a crusade of humanity for Right; and if anything can console us in part at least, for the losses we have suffered, it is assuredly the thought that our victory is also the victory of Right.

This victory is complete, for the enemy only asked for

the armistice to escape from an irretrievable military disaster. In the interest of justice and peace it now rests with you to reap from this victory its full fruits in order to carry out this immense task. You have decided to admit, at first, only the Allied or associated Powers, and, in so far as their interests are involved in the debates, the nations which remained neutral. You have thought that the terms of peace ought to be settled among ourselves before they are communicated to those against whom we have together fought the good fight. The solidarity which has united us during the war and has enabled us to win military success ought to remain unimpaired during the negotiations for, and after the signing of, the Treaty.

It is not only governments, but free peoples, who are represented here. Through the test of danger they have learned to know and help one another. They want their intimacy of yesterday to assure the peace of to-morrow. Vainly would our enemies seek to divide us. If they have not yet renounced their customary maneuvers, they will soon find that they are meeting to-day, as during the hostilities, a homogeneous block which nothing will be able to disintegrate. Even before the armistice you placed that necessary unity under the standard of the lofty moral and political truths of which President Wilson has nobly made himself the interpreter.

And in the light of those truths you intend to accomplish your mission. You will, therefore, seek nothing but justice, "justice that has no favorites," justice in territorial problems, justice in financial problems, justice in economic problems. But justice is not inert, it does not submit to injustice. What it demands first, when it has been violated, are restitution and reparation for the peoples and individuals who have been despoiled or maltreated. In formulating this lawful claim, it obeys neither hatred nor an instinctive or thoughtless desire for reprisals. It pursues a twofold object—to render to each his due, and not to encourage crime through leaving it unpunished. What justice also demands, inspired by the same feeling, is the punishment of the guilty and effective guarantees against an active return of the spirit by which they were tempted; and it is logical to demand that these guaranties

should be given, above all, to the nations that have been, and might again be most exposed to aggressions or threats, to those who have many times stood in danger of being submerged by the periodic tide of the same invasions.

What justice banishes is the dream of conquest and imperialism, contempt for national will, the arbitrary exchange of provinces between states as though peoples were but articles of furniture or pawns in a game. The time is no more when diplomats could meet to redraw with authority the map of the empires on the corner of a table. If you are to remake the map of the world it is in the name of the peoples, and on condition that you shall faithfully interpret their thoughts, and respect the right of nations, small and great, to dispose of themselves, and to reconcile it with the right, equally sacred, of ethnical and religious minorities—a formidable task, which science and history, your two advisers, will contribute to illumine and facilitate.

You will naturally strive to secure the material and moral means of subsistence for all those peoples who are constituted or reconstituted into states; for those who wish to unite themselves to their neighbors; for those who divide themselves into separate units; for those who reorganize themselves according to their regained traditions; and, lastly, for all those whose freedom you have already sanctioned or are about to sanction. You will not call them into existence only to sentence them to death immediately. You would like your work in this, as in all other matters, to be fruitful and lasting.

While thus introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will, in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions unanimously adopted by the Great Allied Powers, establish a general League of Nations, which will be a supreme guarantee against any fresh assaults upon the right of peoples. You do not intend this International Association to be directed against anybody in future. It will not of set purpose shut out anybody, but, having been organized by the nations that have sacrificed themselves in defense of Right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules. It will lay down conditions to which its present or future adherents will submit, and, as it is to have for its essential aim

to prevent, as far as possible, the renewal of wars, it will, above all, seek to gain respect for the peace which you will have established, and will find it the less difficult to maintain in proportion as this peace will in itself imply greater realities of justice and safer guaranties of stability.

By establishing this new order of things you will meet the aspiration of humanity, which, after the frightful convulsions of these bloodstained years, ardently wishes to feel itself protected by a union of free peoples against the ever-possible revivals of primitive savagery. An immortal glory will attach to the names of the nations and the men who have desired to coöperate in this grand work in faith and brotherhood, and who have taken pains to eliminate from the future peace causes of disturbance and instability.

This very day forty-eight years ago, on January 18, 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the Château at Versailles. It was consecrated by the theft of two French provinces; it was thus vitiated from its origin and by the fault of the founders; born in injustice, it has ended in opprobrium. You are assembled in order to repair the evil that it has done and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you, gentlemen, to your grave deliberations, and I declare the Conference of Paris open.

President Wilson's Speech Nominating M. Clemenceau as President of the Conference

I have the great honor to propose as definitive president of this conference the French Premier, M. Clemenceau. I do so in conformity with usage. I should do it even if it were only a question of paying homage to the French Republic, but I do it also because I desire, and you certainly desire with me, to pay homage to the man himself. France, as it is, would alone deserve this honor, but we are to-day in her capital, and it is here that this great Conference has met. France, by her sufferings and sacrifices during the war, deserves a special tribute. Moreover, Paris is her ancient and splendid capital, where more than once these great assemblages, on which the fate of the world has depended, have met.

I am happy to think that the meeting which is beginning crowns the series of these meetings. This Conference may be considered in some respects as the final crowning of the diplomatic history of the world up to this day, for never have so many nations been represented at the same time to solve problems which in so high a degree interest the whole world. Moreover, this meeting signifies for us the end of this terrible war, which threatened to destroy civilization and the world itself. It is a delightful sensation for us to feel that we are meeting at a moment when this terrible menace has ceased to exist.

But it is not only to France, it is to the man who is her great servant that we wish to pay homage and to do honor. We have learned, since we have had relations with him, and since he has been at the head of the French Government, to admire the power of his direction and the force and good sense of his actions. But, more than this, those who know him, those who have worked in close connection with him, have acquired for him a real affection. Those who, like ourselves, have seen him work in these recent times know how much he is united with us, and with what ardor he is working for that which we ourselves desire. For we all desire the same thing. We desire before all to lift from the shoulders of humanity the frightful weight which is pressing on them, so that humanity, released from this weight, may at last return joyfully to work. Thus, gentlemen, it is not only to the Premier of the French Republic, it is to M. Clemenceau that I propose you should give the presidency of this assemblage.

Mr. Lloyd George's Speech Seconding the Nomination

Gentlemen, it is not only a pleasure for me, but a real privilege, to support in the name of the British Empire the motion which has been proposed by President Wilson. I shall do it for the reasons which the President has just expressed with so much eloquence. It is homage to a man that we wish to pay before all. When I was at school M. Clemenceau was already one of the moving forces in French politics. Already his renown had spread far. And, were it not for this memory of my childhood, I should be tempted to believe the legend

which is commonly spread abroad of the eternal youth of M. Clemenceau. In all the conferences at which we have been present the most alert, the most vigorous, in a word, the youngest man, was always M. Clemenceau. By the freshness of his mind and his indefatigable energy he displayed his youth at every moment. He is indeed "the grand young man" of France. But nothing will give us greater pleasure than to see him take the place which we propose that he should accept. No one is better qualified for that place. We have often had discussions together. We have often been in agreement and sometimes we have disagreed, and in that case we have always been in the habit of expressing our opinions with all the force and vigor which belong to two Celts like ourselves.

I believe that in the debates of this Conference there will at first inevitably be delays, but I guarantee from my knowledge of M. Clemenceau that there will be no time wasted. That is indispensable. The world is thirsting for peace. Millions of men are waiting to return to their normal life, and they will not forgive us too long delays. I am sure that M. Clemenceau will not allow useless delays to occur. He is one of the greatest living orators, but he knows that the finest eloquence is that which gets things done and that the worst is that which delays them. Another reason for congratulating him on occupying the place which we are about to give him is his indomitable courage, of which he has given proof in days of difficulty. In these days his energy and presence of mind have done more than all the acts of us others to ensure victory. There is no man of whom one can say that he has contributed more to surmount those terrible difficulties which were so close to the final triumph. He represents the admirable energy, courage and resource of his great people, and that is why I desire to add my voice to that of President Wilson and to ask for his election to the presidency of the Peace Conference.

Baron Sonnino's Speech Seconding the Nomination

Gentlemen, on behalf of the Italian Delegation, I associate myself cordially with the proposal of President Wilson,

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supported by Mr. Lloyd George, and I ask you to give the presidency of the Peace Conference to M. Clemenceau. I am happy to be able in these circumstances to testify to my good will and admiration for France and for the eminent statesman who is at the head of her Government.

Opening Address of M. Clemenceau

Gentlemen, you would not understand it if, after listening to the words of the two eminent men who have just spoken, I were to keep silent. I cannot elude the necessity of expressing my lively gratitude, my deep gratitude, both to the illustrious President Wilson and to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, as well as to Baron Sonnino, for the words which they have uttered. In the past, in the days of my youth—long ago now, as Mr. Lloyd George has reminded me—when I traveled over America and England, I used always to hear the French blamed for that excess of politeness which led them beyond the boundaries of the truth. Listening to the American statesman and the British statesman, I asked myself whether in Paris they had not acquired our national vice of flattering urbanity.

It is necessary, gentlemen, to point out that my election is due necessarily to lofty international tradition, and to the time-honored courtesy shown toward the country which has the honor to welcome the Peace Conference in its capital. The proofs of "friendship"—as they will allow me to call it—of President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George touched me profoundly, because in these proofs may be seen a new force for all three of us which will enable us, with the help of this entire Conference, to carry through the arduous task entrusted to us. I draw new confidence from it for the success of our efforts.

President Wilson has good authority for his remark that we have here for the first time a collection of delegates from all the civilized peoples of the earth. The greater the sanguinary catastrophe which devastated and ruined one of the richest regions of France, the more ample and more splendid should be the reparation—not merely the reparation for material acts, the ordinary reparation, if I may venture to say

so, which is due to us---but the nobler and loftier reparation we are going to try to secure, so that the peoples may at last escape from this fatal embrace, which, heaping up ruins and sorrows, terrorizes the populations and prevents them from devoting themselves freely to their work for fear of the enemies who may spring up at any moment. It is a great and noble ambition that has come to us all. We must hope that success will crown our efforts. This can only be if we have our ideas clear-cut and well defined.

I said in the Chamber of Deputies some days ago, and I make a point of repeating the statement here, that success is possible only if we remain firmly united. We have come here as friends. We must pass through that door as brothers. That is the first reflection which I am anxious to express to you. Everything must be subordinated to the necessity for a closer and closer union between the peoples which have taken part in this great war. The Society of Nations has its being here, it has its being in you. It is for you to make it live, and for that there is no sacrifice to which we are not ready to consent. I do not doubt that as you are all of this disposition we shall arrive at this result, but only on condition that we exercise impartial pressure on ourselves to reconcile what in appearance may be opposing interests in the higher view of a greater, happier, and better humanity. That, gentlemen, is what I had to say to you.

I am touched beyond all expression by the proof of confidence and regard which you have been kind enough to give me. The program of the Conference, the aim marked out by President Wilson, is no longer merely peace for the territories, great and small, with which we are directly concerned; it is no longer merely a peace for the continents, it is peace for the peoples. This program speaks for itself; there is nothing to be added to it. Let us try, gentlemen, to do our work speedily and well. I am handing to the Bureau the rules of procedure of the Conference, and these will be distributed to you all.

I come now to the order of the day. The first question is as follows: "The responsibility of the authors of the war." The second is thus expressed: "Penalties for crimes com-

mitted during the war." The third is: "International legislation in regard to labor."

The Powers whose interests are only in part involved are also invited to send in memoranda in regard to matters of all kinds—territorial, financial, or economic—which affect them particularly. These memoranda should be addressed to the general secretariat of the Conference. This system is somewhat novel. Our desire in asking you to proceed thus is to save time. All the nations represented here are free to present their claims. You will kindly send in these memoranda as speedily as possible, as we shall then get on with the work which we shall submit for your consideration. You can deal with the third question from the standpoint of the organization of labor.

It is a very vast field. But we beg of you to begin by examining the question as to the responsibility of the authors of the war. I do not need to set forth our reasons for this. If we wish to establish justice in the world we can do so now, for we have won victory and can impose the penalties demanded by justice. We shall insist on the imposition of penalties on the authors of the abominable crimes committed during the war. Has any one any question to ask in regard to this? If not, I would again remind you that every delegation should devote itself to the study of this first question, which has been made the subject of reports by eminent jurists, and of a report which will be sent to you entitled, "An Inquiry into the Criminal Responsibility of the Emperor William II." The perusal of this *brochure* will, without doubt, facilitate your work. In Great Britain and in America studies on this point have also been published. No one having any remark to make, the program is adopted.

It only remains for me to say, gentlemen, that the order of the day for our next sitting will begin with the question of the Society of Nations. Our order of the day, gentlemen, is now brought to an end. Before closing the sitting, I should like to know whether any delegate of the Powers represented has any question to submit to the Bureau. As we must work in complete agreement, it is to be desired that members of the Conference shall submit all the observations they consider

necessary. The Bureau will welcome the expression of opinions of all kinds and will answer all questions addressed to it. No one has anything further to say? The sitting is closed.

BY SISLEY HUDDLESTON

The Peace Conference formally opened on Saturday, January 18th, in the Salle de l'Horloge at the French Foreign Ministry. But for some weeks before there had been a mustering of statesmen from the four corners of the world in Paris, and the French capital, which with its comings and goings of statesmen and generals had for so long been the Capital of the War, was prepared to become the Peace Headquarters.

I think that the strongest criticism that can be made of the Allies is that they permitted two months to slip away before they even proceeded to consider the peace which the armistice promised. There were two things to do, each of which depended on the other. One was to make a temporary treaty which would give us a working relationship with Germany. The other was, not only to make peace in the diplomatic sense, but to pacify Europe. We increased our difficulties with Germany by the long delay. We could in the first flush of victory have imposed our maximum terms almost without protest on the crushed people; and it would have had an excellent effect to modify them later on. But we muddled, because Clemenceau wanted one sort of peace, Lloyd George another, and Wilson a third. We got in each other's way.

The fact is that the Foreign Offices could not agree. The conflict on the question of admitting Russia was particularly heated between the British and the French. The Quai d'Orsay, which is singularly blind to realities and sometimes allows itself to be maneuvered by foreign reactionaries, declared hotly against Mr. Lloyd George's and Mr. Balfour's views that Lenin should be invited to make peace and send delegates to Paris.

This inability to come to an accord on the most elementary matters pursued the Allies; and it was no wonder that Mr. Wilson, who had been in France for nearly a month,

wasting his time, protesting now and again to M. Clemenceau, grew very impatient, and urged an instant beginning. At this time the contradiction between the point of view of the American President and that of the French Premier was flat and flagrant. A deadlock was threatened at the outset. The two men remained courteous, but there was certainly no friendly feeling between them. "If you can persuade me that your plans are better for the peace of the world, I am willing to listen and to learn," said Mr. Wilson. "And if you can persuade me, so much the better," replied M. Clemenceau. "Only—you cannot!"

The scenery, the stage setting, was not very impressive in those rainy days of January, when Paris was drenched in constant showers. There is no season of the year when the city looks more dismal. The leafless boulevards and the wet pavements reflecting faintly at night the feeble illuminations make a picture without color. But in the busy interiors of the buildings that were devoted to the preparations for peace there was an almost feverish activity. The Pressmen from all parts of the world gathered in great clouds ready to swarm down upon any one who could furnish them with the smallest tit-bit of information. Motor-cars dashed to and fro under the leaden skies, stopping at the door of this hotel and at the porch of that Government Department. The last touches were put to the arrangements. The papers stacked in prodigious number were classified. Facts and figures about almost every country in Europe, and statistics about every continent of the world, were available. In short, the supreme moment had arrived when the most immense consultation of Powers and of peoples that the world has ever seen was about to begin.

If you had occasion to come within the shadow of these buildings, whose placid front concealed such prodigious labor and such stupendous compilations, you felt the gravity of the coming events. There were assembled those upon whose wisdom or folly, upon whose vigilance or blindness, upon whose good-will or antipathies, the whole future of the world hung. The fate of mankind was poised by a thread. When you came into the sphere of these proceedings you could not avoid

a feeling of awe at the terrible responsibilities shouldered by the statesmen, as they were yesterday shouldered by the captains of the Allies and of their associates.

The British took up their quarters in the Hotel Majestic and in the Hotel Astoria—two huge establishments which are close to the Étoile. The strictest guard was kept, lest there should be a betrayal of secrets. What secrets there were left to betray after the members of the Conference had given away all they knew—except their own quarrels, and those too, wherever it suited them to hint that Mr. So-and-so was preventing an agreement on such-and-such a subject—I really do not know. For my part, I never learnt of anything of any importance through official channels that I had not known before either by personal contact with some member or through the newspapers. There never was such a ridiculous bogey as this fear of publicity, and I am only surprised that the Press did not laugh it to scorn. There were not only men from the Foreign Office but men from Scotland Yard, and the emptying of the waste-paper baskets was a highly important business!

In these buildings the delegates lived and worked and played—for the social side of life was developed by the younger folk at the Hotel Majestic. If it was permissible to dance on the eve of Waterloo it was surely permissible to dance on the eve of Versailles; and the amateur theatricals and the concerts and the dinner parties and the afternoon teas in the Hall of the Hotel Majestic made peace-making a fairly pleasant job, provided you were not too busy.

Nevertheless, it is not at all fair to speak scornfully of this army of officials. They really worked after their fashion exceedingly well. They prepared reports, they put the text of documents in shape, they did the fagging for the British team. Only—the delegates afterwards disregarded what they had done and much of their work was wasted. There was an early outcry about their numbers, but it must be remembered that it was difficult to estimate how large a staff would be required; and, besides, a number came over for only a week or two. A tribute should be paid to the many girl assistants, who in docketing and filing were su-

perior to the men. Responsible positions were given to women. The uniforms of the young girl messengers soon became familiar to Parisians and were celebrated in song.

Most of the decisions with regard to the methods of procedure were taken in the week preceding the Conference proper. It was arranged that the big Powers alone were to lay down the general lines and the smaller States to be called in afterwards, while the enemy Powers were to come in at the end of the deliberations to receive their sentences at Versailles. There was a feeling in some quarters that it would have been better that everybody should have been united in a big conference to agree first on the principles to be applied, and to work out the details in smaller groups. Questions of procedure cannot be regarded as trivial. They have gone very far to make the results of the Conference what they are.

The opening day recalled an event which colored the subsequent history of Europe. It was the anniversary of that day in 1871 when the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the Château at Versailles. It was consecrated by the theft of two French provinces, and, as M. Poincaré said, was thus vitiated from its origin by the fault of its founders. Born in injustice, it ended in opprobrium. The scene in the Salon de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay when the seventy delegates met for the first time was an impressive one. The Salle is magnificent, a suitable setting for the drama which was then begun. Looking out on the swollen Seine was M. Bratiano, the Rumanian Premier, in company with M. Pashitch of Serbia. All the Balkan problems which had been hitherto insoluble seemed to be represented by these two men. The picturesque figure of the Emir Feysal, son of the King of the Hedjaz, with his flowing turban falling on his shoulders, reminded one of the tremendous differences of opinion and of interests in the Near East. M. Dmowski and M. Kramarcz, from Poland and from Czecho-Slovakia, evoked the difficulties and the troubrous times ahead of the new States. One foresaw the Adriatic quarrel when Baron Sonnino entered. M. Venizelos incarnated Greek aspirations and M. Vandervelde car-

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ried us in imagination to suffering Belgium. Marshal Foch, Mr. Wilson, President Poincaré, Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau formed a group whose points of view it seemed hardly possible to reconcile. After all, when one looked and remembered "so many men, so many minds," it seemed hopeless to expect that they could all be satisfied.

I think in view of the subsequent results it is as well to recall the salient passage of M. Poincaré's speech.

"You will," he said, "seek nothing but justice—justice that has no favorites—justice in territorial problems, justice in financial problems, justice in economic problems.

"The time is no more when diplomatists could meet to redraw with authority the map of the Empires on the corner of a table. If you are to remake the map of the world it is in the name of the peoples and on condition that you shall faithfully interpret their thoughts and respect the right of nations, small and great, to dispose of themselves, provided that they observe the rights equally sacred of ethical and religious minorities.

"While thus introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will, in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions unanimously adopted by the Great Allied Powers, establish a general League of Nations which will be a supreme guarantee against any fresh assaults upon the right of peoples."

How far has this purpose been fulfilled? He would be a bold man who would pretend that the high mission has been carried out without deflection and without conspicuous failures.

The actual representation of the Powers, big and little, was not settled without many protests, and it is now no secret that great discontent was aroused by the allocation of the number of seats to each nation. Mr. Lloyd George soon found an opportunity for his gift of conciliation, since there was indeed much that was arbitrary in the arrangements dictated by material interests. The first intention that Belgium should have fewer representatives than Brazil displeased many commentators. The British delegation was regarded as unfair, since Canada, Australia and India, and

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other parts of the Empire, helped to strengthen the British point of view. The question of the Dominions was certainly a difficult one, for they are entirely British, and yet could not be assimilated. It was obvious that separate representation was due for their great and gallant part in the war, but the clear-sighted French observed the preponderance of the British element thus given, and asked for (and were refused) representatives from Algeria, Cochin-China and Morocco. The Jugo-Slavs, as such, were not to have a place. The Serbians, who, with their neighbors composing the new nation, were to have so much to say with regard to the Italian claims, had two representatives, and could not therefore speak for three nationalities. The differences among the Asiatic nations were even more fundamental.

BY STÉPHANE LAUZANNE

"I leave you to your weighty deliberations. The Peace Conference is declared open."

M. Raymond Poincaré uttered these words at three o'clock on January 18, 1919, with extraordinary earnestness, and a touch of emotion in his voice which his hearers are not accustomed to find there. And at once a wave of joy seemed to surge through the entire assembly who had listened standing to the opening speech of the President of the Republic, in the great "Salon de l'Horloge" of the Quai d'Orsay.

It was an extraordinary assembly, unlike any other known to history. The sixty-five men present belonged to every race, to every country. Some came from the uttermost ends of the earth, delegates sent by China and Japan. Others from parts little known, vaguely shown on geography maps—for instance, the two representatives of the King of Hedjaz, who arrived at the eleventh hour and were admitted at the last minute. Some were very old—Mr. Pashitch, for one—with his enormous white beard; others, such as the envoys of certain South American Republics, quite young.

From the corner of the hall where I was, my attention never wandered from them all during the half-hour the speech of the President of the Republic lasted, as I tried to

read on their faces something of the feelings that were certainly stirring below. But every countenance, whether pale or dark-hued, reflected only pride and joy. And prouder, more joyous perhaps than any of the others, was President Wilson. His smile seemed to dominate and lighten up the entire assembly. When M. Poincaré spoke his closing words: "*I leave you to your weighty deliberations. The Peace Conference is declared open,*" he was the first to spontaneously clap his hands and give the others the signal of applause.

And now the Peace Conference is open and the Allies are trying to rebuild the world.

One question predominates in the vast work to be accomplished: Will the Allies agree, and will they agree to the end? The question has been asked in America more than elsewhere perhaps. Cablegrams, some sensational, others pessimistic, have been sent to the American press on this subject. These cables came from newspapermen whose information was not always as reliable as it was prompt.

Paris is a strange and difficult city for the reporter who does not know it. A city of rumors, of gossip, of talkers and faultfinders. Every one knows all there is to be known without ever having heard anything. The newspaper man who has not understood its psychology is in an unfortunate position! He is at the mercy of any lobbyist of the Palace Bourbon who whispers in his ear an account of the most secret meeting of the Cabinet, and he will take it for history in the making. He is at the mercy of any restaurant waiter who speaks disparagingly of every man in the Government—and he will take it as a true index of the feeling of the Parisian crowd. He sees the moving surface, the lights, women passing in the streets—and he will imagine all of France is before his eyes! Truly, a misguided person the newspaper man who listens too much and does not think enough!

Let us take as an example the question of the League of Nations, which certain American correspondents have striven to describe as one of the main points of divergence among the Allies. It is characteristic of the errors of in-

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terpretation which can be made by a newspaper man insufficiently acquainted with France, when he tries to give an account of French opinion. What has been cabled to New York, Chicago, Boston and elsewhere? Nine times out of ten, this: "M. Clemenceau is opposed to the proposed League of Nations of President Wilson, and France will have none of it." And nine Americans out of ten are convinced to-day that opposition to the League of Nations came entirely from France. What is the truth of the matter?

The truth is that French public opinion—that of the nation, of the people, of the army—has never been opposed to a League of Nations; it is merely skeptical regarding the results of such a League—an entirely different matter. Skepticism is one thing, opposition is another. There is not a Frenchman living who would delay by one hour the dawning of that radiant day when nations will have the understanding of sisters, and when universal peace will reign permanently on our earth. But there are many Frenchmen who believe that day will never dawn as long as men are men, and cupidity, stupidity, and ill-nature are still to be found here. So Frenchmen are not antagonistic to the League; they are simply incredulous about it.

Again, the truth is that M. Clemenceau, who incarnates every feeling, every fear, every hope of France, shares on this point, as on many others, the opinion of four-fifths of the French people. But if, deep down in his heart, M. Clemenceau does not believe in a League of Nations, he is so little opposed to one that less than a fortnight after he became Premier of France, in 1917, he appointed a commission for the purpose of preparing the draft of a League of Nations, and as members of this commission he selected not only some of the most eminent jurists of France, but also men who were most in favor of the idea of arbitration among nations, of peace among peoples, of conciliation among governments. M. Leon Bourgeois, who is the oldest and most prominent pacifist of France, in the highest and noblest sense of the word "pacifist," was appointed chairman of the commission.

Further, the truth is that the commission appointed by

M. Clemenceau worked so hard and to such good purpose for two years, that it had ready an entire series of drafts showing to the last detail the working of such a league, the constitution of international courts of arbitration, the penalties to be resorted to in case of conflict, etc. One part of the work, done by that great authority on international law, Professor André Weiss, even went so far as to give a list of the financial, marine, economic and monetary penalties which could be enforced, if a war were to threaten, against the nation that should be indicated as the author of the trouble. To quote M. Leon Bourgeois: "It is the most marvelous and formidable arsenal that can be imagined: the League will only have to stoop to pick up arms against war."

The day the Peace Conference opened, France was the first country to propose that the League of Nations should be one of the subjects of discussion, and she was the one and only nation to place on the Conference table a concrete and practical draft for such a League.

Other divergences occurred, at the very outset of the Conference, which since have been smoothed away. They deserve to be mentioned here only because they raised questions of principles, and questions of principles are often most difficult.

Among others, there was the question of language and the question of representation of the smaller nations.

The question of language is one that France feels deeply about. The question is in what language the final instrument of the Conference—the peace treaty—shall be drawn up. From time immemorial, international treaties of peace have been drawn up in the French language, and that is what is meant when French is described as the language of diplomacy. Even in 1815, after Waterloo, when France was invaded and crushed by Europe, the peace treaty of Vienna was drawn up in French. Even in 1871, after Sedan, when France was invaded and crushed by Prussia, the Frankfort treaty of peace was drawn up in French. France cannot admit, therefore, that after the Marne and Verdun, the treaty of peace that will be signed in Paris should be in any other tongue than French. Translations may and should be

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made in every other idiom, but in accordance with a tradition that goes back centuries, the original must be a French original.

The representation of certain smaller nations, whose conduct was so heroic during the war, was a question about which France felt at least as deeply as about the question of language.

In the course of a preliminary meeting, it had first been decided that Belgium and Serbia would have only two delegates at the Conference, whereas at the request of the United States it was decided Brazil should have three. No one in France contests the importance of the services rendered by the noble Brazilian people in the cause of the Allies, but for us who are French, among many precious memories, one will always stand out: the memory of blood shed in common on the battlefield. What has made the friendship of the United States sacred to France is not so much the money lent, the munitions sent, the hospitals built, the ports enlarged, as the two million men who came to her and the fifty thousand boys who sleep their last sleep in our French cemeteries. . . . Belgium and Serbia, too, gave their blood for the cause of civilization. They gave it from the very first day—and they gave it until the very last hour. This makes them in our eyes the equals of the great nations of the earth. This was enough to earn for them five delegates each to the Conference, like France, or England, or America. In no case should it have earned for them fewer delegates than a nation not one of whose soldiers ever suffered in our trenches. At the urgent and pressing request of France, the Conference altered its first decision and assigned three delegates each to Serbia and Belgium. Three is not much, but it is better than two. Would it not have been preferable to have done at once what common fairness made us do later?

All this is slight enough, and simply shows the necessity of examining, and thinking, and taking into consideration the traditions and feelings of the various peoples. Other divergences will occur. What has not been said, telegraphed or written on the subject of France's territorial claims! A great New York paper even went so far as to state that

France and her Government had been carried away "by a spirit of conquest and imperialism which would be the misfortune of France and of the world"! Now, the so-called imperialism and spirit of conquest of France are limited to asking for Alsace-Lorraine, with the frontiers of that province in 1815, that is, with the Saar basin. The Saar basin, in geographical area, only slightly exceeds that of the borough of Manhattan. It was a part of France for nearly two centuries. It was wrested from France in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, for one reason: because it is rich in coal, and as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century Prussia was busy appropriating everything that had any value, such as iron or coal. France to-day claims that district, first by virtue of right, because it formerly belonged to her, next because it will be compensation for the loss of her Northern coal fields, destroyed or damaged for years and years to come by the Germans, and lastly because it will be a guarantee against any German attack on that side: Germany will be deprived of one of the sinews of war.

And that is the whole story of France's territorial claims. At no hour, at no minute of the war, did France ever dream—I can formally affirm this—of annexing all the left bank of the Rhine. When in secret treaties with Russia, France asked that her hands should not be tied in connection with the left bank of the Rhine, this meant that she wanted—and still wants—to receive proper guarantees in that quarter. France does not want, in the more or less distant future, the Prussian or Bavarian Palatinate to serve as a jump-off from which to attack her or to attack Belgium. So she will ask that there should be no fortifications on the left bank of the Rhine, either temporary or permanent, and no arsenals, no depots of artillery, no garrisons, nothing, in a word, that could be used to repeat the operation of 1914. But the people of that country, provided they do not arm themselves, are free to administer their territory as they see fit, and to annex themselves to Prussia, or Bavaria, or Austria, or to no country at all. Their independence remains absolute. And that is the spirit of conquest of France! It simply con-

sists in taking the proper measures to prevent a renewal of the attempt to conquer her.

The French are often accused of hatred and of a desire for revenge where Germany is concerned, because their territory has been ravaged, invaded, set fire to, destroyed by the Germans. But it is not only the French who are to-day pronouncing anathemas against Germany, but also the English, who are not hereditary enemies of Germany; the Belgians, who never had the slightest quarrel with Germany, and the Rumanians, who were in alliance with Germany.

On the very day of the opening of the Conference, I heard from M. Jean Bratiano, Prime Minister of Rumania, and first delegate of Rumania to the Conference, an account of the sufferings endured by his country under the Teuton heel, and I found that this Wallachian from the far banks of the Danube said the same things as the Walloons of Belgium or the Picards of France.

"In Rumania," he told me, "there are entire districts with which there is no communication possible: not even a cart to go there. We have been despoiled of everything and we are hungry. There is not a day's reserve of flour in Bucharest. The awful thing about Germany, you see, is not only that her mentality is that of a savage, but that she has such a mentality without realizing it. She is cruel instinctively and without effort. She is cruel with a scientific refinement that almost amounts to genius."

BY MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

President Wilson, as lately as last autumn known to the gentlemen in our Foreign Office as "the agent of the plutocracy" (as a matter of fact it was as the antagonist of the plutocracy that he rose in popular prestige), has now been admitted into the forecourt of favor. But what can he do against the flinty heart of his allies in Europe? Almost every day I get letters asking the same tremulous question, and proving that the belief in our enemies' "will to annihilate us" has survived every other product of Nicolai's¹ factory.

¹ Colonel Nicolai was one of Ludendorff's agents for political propaganda in Germany.

"But do you seriously think that Clemenceau and Lloyd George will ever listen to reason?" I do; seriously. Maybe reason quitted her nest in their heads for a short flight, but has long since returned to roost under the roof of these two Celtic craniums.

Monsieur Georges Clemenceau is a fine spirit (*ein Geistiger*). The classical Jacobin. One suckled on the spirit of Didero—the last man, in all probability, of this stamp. The son of a doctor from La Vendée, he himself after his return from America—to whose free air he was driven by abhorrence of the Empire of the third Napoleon—became a doctor in Montmartre. There he was indefatigable in attending the poor. He is chosen a member of the Paris Municipal Council, then elected to the Chamber, as a follower of Gambetta, from which he is swept away in the year of the malodorous Panama deluge by the inane suspicion of being in England's pay. He fights Gambetta, Ferry, Jaurès, Millerand, Delcassé, Viviani, Briand, overthrows Minister after Minister and, therefore, acquires, as Senator, his nickname "the Tiger." Yet there is nothing of the beast of prey about him, only a great deal of the *batailleur*, the fighting cock *à la Cyrano*. In his struggle for freedom he fights as journalist, as member of Parliament, and, at the age of 66, for the first time, as Minister, to champion the old-style republican's view of right—preferably alone, never in the crowd, and always with the clear weapon of the spirit. Even the opponents of his policy loved him, even his friends dreaded his abruptly veering moods, and did not account him, for all his talents, one of the statesmen upon whom France might rely at the pinch of need. "Great in criticism and destruction only"—that was the stereotyped description. When, in November, 1917, Monsieur Poincaré, cruelly mauled by *L'Homme Enchaîné*, was obliged to offer the old man of 77 the Premiership, I wrote:

"Monsieur Clemenceau already loved his country with the ardent longing, the stormy jealousy of the wooer who is never quite satisfied, when he looked no older than he does in Manet's portrait. And he will certainly strain every pulse, every nerve, every fiber of his will, in the attempt to show

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to-morrow, at last, before the eyes of all the world, how he can rise to the greatness to which he has always felt himself equal. France will not be the same after him as it was before. He is capable of gaining great things for his country, capable also of running it into gigantic losses."

Greater things than he ever dared to dream has he gained. He secured the unity of command, gave it to General Foch, breathed strong confidence into the war-weary nation, army, citizens, and was for the space of twelve months all in all. Of the men who protested in Bordeaux against the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine in the German Empire he is the sole survivor, and to-day he brings back to his country the lost provinces. After a victory which towers far above all hopes, he, who had never seemed to believe rightly in reconciliation, in a League of Nations, in a new world, has not shrunk from confessing his faith in worthier Reason. In November, 1917, he said :

"Only nations who are capable of freeing themselves can found the League of Nations. It is said in this House that Germany herself will break Prussian militarism. Unhappily, instead of breaking it, Germany makes herself its tool. If we win, we shall not be blinded by arrogance. We know the dangers of victory, how easily it leads to an abuse of strength. I am not of such a school; I stick to right. In this respect I have always been true to myself. We want our rights, and we have been compelled to assert them by force."

On the 18th of October, the day which freed Bruges, Douai, Lille, Ostend, Roubaix and Tourcoing, he said : "We have fought for our rights, not for the opportunity to take vengeance. From the liberation of France must arise the liberation of mankind." After the signature of the armistice : "Exhausted Germany had to capitulate; its internal condition was such as to leave no hope of recovery. We must speedily come to its help. Because we have waged war in defense of humanity, not against it."

This man, ennobled by his experience of good fortune, would certainly, now after the death of militarism, be ready to further in the radiance of victory that plan of disarmament, in which King Edward found a consolation of old

age, and Mr. Lloyd George a pillar of hope for financial and social reform.

This younger Celt, too, peruse him at close quarters, does not give you the impression of a man for whom the fight which breaks his opponent's ribs is the supreme pleasure. After the death of his parents, who had migrated from Wales to Manchester, he was brought up among Methodists of Kymric speech, well outside the range of England's State Church, in the Welsh county of Carnarvon, which still to-day gives him his seat in the Lower House. He it was who carried the laws which secure the workingman against the ills of age, sickness, and unemployment, and who forced the Upper House to pass the People's Budget, the true stuff of Democracy, which he explained in a speech of almost five hours. It went through although it left industry and the people's food unburdened, and only taxed property, income, and luxuries (among which, it is true, he counted tea). He was always a pacifist, not far removed from the Socialists—those of the sober-minded English brand—and up to the day of Agadir he was wont to speak of Germany—whose system of old-age insurance he had copied, minus the workingman's compulsory contributions—in a tone of the greatest respect. This was not even impaired by his belief that the ordinary German lived on horseflesh and nasty black bread. In every position, as President of the Board of Trade, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister for Munitions, Premier, he has stood high above neighbors and predecessors. The well-informed could foresee that Great Britain would not withdraw its favor at the polls from its favorite, the man of vivid temperament, who created its apparatus of war. No one could anywhere be found who loves his homeland as this man does.

"We were never more richly blessed with prosperity than in years after we resolved to care for the poor and the weak. Twelve months ago five mighty countries, Germany, France, Russia, the United States, and our own United Kingdom, groaned under a deficit. England alone has now recovered and is paying for its shipbuilding and covering other expenditure besides from its current annual revenues. What other

country on earth can boast of such success? Our country, which some endeavor to intimidate by a well-organized despondency, still offers capital the safest investment."

That is David Lloyd George, "Practical Idealist." The man who wants to make the poorest a strong member in the body of the State, who is saddened when he sees in the Welsh mountains a stream rushing impetuously over a precipice and then, in the valley, turning some worn and rusty mill-wheel, but never serving to bring light into the dark hovels of the poor.

Such a stream would be a fit parable of the German people, were the will, which you are supposed in this country to embody, to become the law of the world. All too long it has been just like such a stream. No one, save a man blinded with rage, can deny that the performance of this people during the war has been marvelous. Enthusiasm for a duty, devotion to a duty whose fulfillment was represented as necessary for the Fatherland, quiet accommodation to the hardships of privation, joy in self-sacrifice—there was a grandeur in this storm of will-power! And it is no vain self-admiration which prompts the question whether any other among the peoples softened by civilization would have carried for so long a stretch the dreary daily burden of such misery. Shameful, therefore despicable, calumny, is the talk which taxes the home country with having rotted and poisoned the army at the front. We were beaten in the military way; army was defeated by army; General Ludendorff by General Foch; poison gas by tank. An army nourished only on the certainty of victory, drilled only for that event, could not but flag when the hope of victory faded, when in every resting-time they witnessed the impudent indulgences on the lines of communication, and in front, in the firing line, learned to realize that no technical apparatus, neither U-boats nor heavy guns, nor long-range guns, nor poison-bombs, nor even the gigantic imposing gas-bags of Zeppelins, could effect anything permanent against the might of an Idea, a Faith. The home country did more and suffered more than was hitherto thought possible for human power, for men in the mass. But all their pains could not

avail to bring mankind one single step forward. Dost thou still swirl, stream of national energy, down mossy slopes and precipices, dost thou still swell high in eager passion, and leap the crag to a new bed of stones, in order to turn in the valley a mill-wheel half rusted away, at least half rusted away? The question often flashes through one's head. And to-morrow must the German energy of purpose still spend itself fruitlessly, be compelled to do at the beck of the conqueror what up till yesterday appeared to the blinded people the work of its own free will? Germany, who has no longer any companion to take a share of the burden, is to "indemnify" all the hostile peoples (except the United States); without Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar region, North Schleswig, Posen, Upper Silesia, without gold, copper, oil, oversea trade, is it to create anew by the labor of its own hands all that its enemies have lost by the war? Such a task would last for scores of years and grind no bread-corn, warm no hearth, light no home, for the people chained to its enforced labor.

Let the eye of your soul, chief man of Britain, look away from the electoral contest in whose sunshine you now stand, victor at home as over the foreign foe—let it glance back into the dust of the contest fought twelve years ago. Then Lord Milner, to-day your Minister for War, heard from a thousand throats an angry cry; that, in order to glut the greed of the mine-owners, he should allow forced labor to be imposed on the Chinese in the Transvaal, was an outrage which the free Britons' sense of honor must make good instantly. The demand for the full costs of the war would compel the Germans, a whole nation of Europeans, to undergo the lot of coolies. In shaft and smelting furnace, in the weaver's stool and at the smith's anvil, in the furrowed plowland, the workshop, the machinery shed, the merchant's office, men would sweat, gnashing their teeth, to furnish the tribute. What Virgil says of oxen and of bees—that they draw the plow and make honey for others—would be true of a whole human nation. With a national debt of 200,-000,000,000, municipalities disorganized, industrial bodies crippled, nothing but what was barely necessary for sustaining life would be left them on this little planet; everything

produced over and above that would have to be given over to the foreigner. Not the patience of the most patient could submit to such a yoke for long.

I do not believe that men whose being has been tinged with Western civilization desire the enslavement of a nation; that they think, in the quietness of peace, just as our militarists thought in the turmoil of battle, when they tossed the worldly goods of Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Turks into the pans of their field-kitchens. The German who groans, saying that the throng of victors wants to murder him, to ruin his country's future, is given his answer: "Since it was you who devised murder and destruction, you have no right to ask that we, after the huge agonies and sacrifices of a long-drawn-out defense, should take upon us in addition losses for which reparation can be made, should saddle our children and grandchildren with this heavy burden." The murmur of complaint dies away; no gracious echo would be awakened by the trumpet tone if the Three upon the seat of judgment were indeed such as fear, the mother of hatred, paints them:

"It is our wish that Germany should turn aside from schemes of military domination and devote all her strength to the great beneficent tasks of the world."—*Lloyd George*.

"Only a diplomacy informed by a new spirit can make peace secure. He who wants to build a new house, must not use old, worn stones, antiquated rules of building."—*Clemenceau*.

"Loud resounds, inaccessible only to the deaf, the cry for humanity, for the triumphant dominion of justice over all the world; and our most immediate duty appears to me to be to devote ourselves in friendship to mankind."—*Wilson*.

The Three do not dream of shutting up the German people to the bitter condition of helots. Their eyes (so it seems to me) are turned upon this people, would like to discern clearly toward what new aim its will is bent, would gladly be convinced that the German soul has changed. And their eye strains, puzzles to make out whether the stream is not still wasting its torrent force to turn the rusty wheel.

GERMANY BEGINS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

OPENING OF THE NEW REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY

FEBRUARY 6, 1919

WALTER JAMES SHEPARD
SEÑOR AZHEITUAS

GEORGE SAUNDERS
PRESIDENT EBERT

The first "Ruling" Assembly ever known to Germany, that is, the first that ever held real control of the country without being overshadowed by kings or other rulers more powerful than itself, was the Assembly which gathered at 3 p. m. on February 6th, not in Berlin but in Weimar, the ancient capital of one of the smaller German states. Under this Assembly, Germany became a really self-governing constitutional state.

From the time of the revolution of November, 1918, the country had been governed by Frederick Ebert, the Heidelberg leather-worker and socialist. Nominally he had been at first Chancellor and then temporary President. He had suppressed all disorder, compelled an election of an Assembly by universal suffrage, and now that Assembly was met as the true representative of the people to organize a constitutional government.

Almost the first act of the Assembly was to elect Ebert to a more regular presidency. Then they prepared a permanent constitution which, after careful discussion of detail, was declared established in the following August. So Germany joined the ever-growing list of self-governing peoples.

The picture of the gathering of this profoundly important Assembly is here sketched by the American economist, Professor Walter James Shepard of the University of Missouri. The actual labors of the Assembly are outlined by a British eye-witness, the special representative of the London *Times*, Mr. Saunders. He looks to the meaning and the probable future of this new government. So also, but from a neutral standpoint, does Señor Azheituas, a Spanish economist. Then finally we let Germany speak for herself, by giving the speech with which President Ebert welcomed the Assembly, and indicating by the marked interruptions to the speech the temper of the men who listened to him. In their hands lay the destiny of the German nation.

BY WALTER JAMES SHEPARD

THE revolution in Germany strikes the observer as different in essential respects from revolutions which have taken place in other countries. One looks, in such events, for a few short days of blood and battle; for power wrested by force from the grip of those who have held it; for popular turmoil, the citizenry waging conflict behind street barricades against the disciplined but gradually disintegrating and increasingly disaffected troops of the established government—in short, for a *journée* in which the overturn is speedily accomplished and the new régime quickly set up. But the German revolution affords no such spectacle. There has been, to be sure, street-fighting and bloodshed, but they have been incident to the attempt of the extremists to overthrow the revolutionary government or to compel it to undertake a more radical program. The revolution itself was bloodless, and the establishment of the provisional government under Ebert was only the last step in a crumbling process which had been evident during the latter part of the administration of Count von Hertling and the whole of that of Prince Max. Not only were a number of radically liberal measures inaugurated during this period, but the ministry of Prince Max included three Socialists, one of them being Philip Scheidemann, later to become prime minister of the new republic.

Friedrich Ebert's accession to the chancellorship was proclaimed by his predecessor, and the personnel of administration, even in the higher posts, was changed but little. Except for the abdication of the Kaiser and the lesser monarchs, the renunciation of his rights by the crown prince, and the announcement that the government was provisional, pending the convening of a national assembly for the purpose of forming a new constitution for Germany, the events might easily have been brought within the category of orderly legal development. It is true there had been mutinies among the sailors at Kiel and soldiers' and workmen's councils were established in a number of places; but it can scarcely be said that the government was unable to cope with these sporadic

disturbances. On the whole the people were quiet and remained so for some time. It was a revolution which was not at all a revolution, and therein lies the key to the events of the succeeding months.

In order to understand the complex situation in Germany during this period it is necessary to review briefly the political forces which contended among themselves for power. Soon after the revolution all the political parties were reorganized, adopting new names, though they remained essentially unchanged in character and principles. The old Conservative (Junker) party and its minor allies were reconstituted under the name of the German National People's party, with Count Westarp and Baron von Gamp as its leaders. Frankly Pan-Germanists, conservative, militarist and monarchist in principle, this party awaited a favorable moment for inaugurating the counter-revolution.

Most of the old National Liberal party joined the German People's party, under the leadership of Dr. Stresemann, whose real program is hidden behind vague promises of peace, freedom, order and bread. They are, in fact, very little changed. While declaring themselves ready to collaborate with the republic they are, in truth, attached to the old times. They understand the futility of a counter-revolution, as the Hohenzollerns have made themselves impossible forever in Germany; but they have no enthusiasm for a republic. Indeed the leader late in April announced adherence to the monarchical principle. Representing the great industrial and commercial elements in the country, their attitude on most political questions differs only from that of the German National People's party in being somewhat less outspoken.

The old Catholic Center was rechristened the Christian People's party, and acknowledged the leadership of Dr. Spahn and Herr Erzberger. It made a not very successful effort to attract adherents of other faiths to its banner. It is considerably less intransigent than the other two parties of the Right, has not refused to support the government on occasion, and in the person of its leader Erzberger shared in governmental councils.

These three parties of the Right are capitalistic, though occasionally admitting the principle of socialization in vague terms and with many restrictions. Their hatred of England is still bitter, and they can scarcely hide their hope of revenge. They maintain that it is the Entente's intention to allow the Bolsheviks to overrun Germany, and they use the Bolshevik menace to private property as a means to secure votes. They have all opposed the measure of the Prussian minister of education for separation of church and state, and the government's order against officers wearing distinctions of rank and swords. They have adopted the motto, "March separately, fight together," and while there is no formal alliance, there appears to be sufficient unity of action among them.

On the Left, a new German Democratic party has been formed out of the old Progressive People's party and a part of the National Liberals, under the leadership of a group of very able men, including Herren Fischbeck, Conrad Haussmann, Theodor Wolff and Professor Hugo Preuss. This party is out and out republican, in favor of gradual socialization, at least of natural monopolies, with few reservations, but decidedly opposed to spoliatory legislation. They favor free trade, the separation of church and state, and are strongly attached to the principle of the League of Nations. Although predominantly *bourgeois* in character, they are collaborating whole-heartedly with the Majority Socialists and share with that party the control of the government. Among their ranks are a large number of men of high technical training and ability, whose assistance is indispensable at this time. Their leaders are inclined to take a rather sanguine view of the situation. They believe that Germany will develop sufficient strength to check Bolshevism and will recover from the present crisis in a reasonable time.

The Social Democratic party of the early years of the war eventually split on the question of voting war credits. The dissenting minority seceded and formed the Independent Socialist party. The Majority Socialists continued to support the war until the defeats on the western front in the summer and autumn of 1918 made it clear to the world that

the German cause was hopeless. Led by Ebert and Scheidemann, it is this party that has been chiefly in control of the government since events culminated in the abdication of the Kaiser. Their program included gradual socialization, popular election of judges and officials, a steeply graduated income tax and the separation of church and state. They, of course, are republican and favor a League of Nations. In principles they differ but little from the German Democratic party; their membership is, however, chiefly proletarian, instead of *bourgeois*. *Vorwärts* is their mouthpiece.

The Independent Socialists are led by Herr Haase. They opposed the war during the last two years of its course. They support all proposals of political reform. They stand firmly on the Socialist Erfurt program of 1891; and demand immediate socialization, without restrictions or reservations. They favor the conclusion of immediate peace on the Allied terms. At first inclined to collaborate with the Majority Socialists and to support the government, they have drifted more and more into opposition as the government has tended more and more toward the Right. The Independent Socialists are, in fact, divided into two wings: the Right, which has on the whole supported the government, and may be ultimately absorbed by the Majority Socialists; while the Left, which appears now to be the stronger, approaches the Spartacists, and may eventually be amalgamated with them.

Finally on the extreme Left are the Spartacists, or Communists. In general purpose and principle they are closely affiliated with the Russian Bolsheviks, from whom, moreover, they have received constant and considerable financial support. There has been a well-organized Russian Bolshevik propaganda in Germany, four hundred propagandists who were trained by Schomel, a Bolshevik missionary, at his propagandist school in Moscow, having been sent to Berlin some time before the armistice. Later a similar school was started in Germany. It is said that a daily courier service is maintained through the lines between the Russian agents in Berlin and Moscow. The Spartacists are the German Bolsheviks. They are ultra-internationalists, being avowed enemies of the capitalist and *bourgeois* state. They would deny

all share in the government to the capitalist and *bourgeois* classes; abolish all public offices in the civil service and the army, as well as taxes and national debts; and substitute a workmen's militia for the army. They are not so numerous as one might think from the noise and confusion they are causing, but they make up in fanaticism. They were opposed to, and did all in their power to prevent, the convening of the constituent national assembly. Direct action, not elections, is the weapon on which they rely. It is this group which is responsible for the almost continuous series of strikes, some of which have assumed the proportions of general strikes, which have so greatly increased the economic distress of the country. It is they also who have opposed the government by force, attempting its overthrow and the establishment of a soviet republic on the Russian model.

Successful for a time in various cities, and notably in Munich, they have eventually in every instance been defeated. They wished to prevent the signing of peace and to force the Entente to undertake the military occupation of Germany, which they believed would result in a world-wide spread of Bolshevism, the overthrow of the capitalist régime and the establishment of international socialism. Drawn for the most part from the industrial proletariat, their membership also includes a considerable number of younger peasants who have returned from the army. Their leaders have been Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (both killed on January 15th under circumstances not yet fully clear), Ledebour, Levien and Eichhorn.

The provisional government, established under the chancellorship of Friedrich Ebert on November 9, 1918, was composed of three Majority and three Independent Socialists, though most of the high officials of the previous régime were retained in office. It accepted the armistice on November 11th and announced a policy of concluding peace at the earliest possible moment, of immediately inaugurating measures for economic reconstruction, and the convening of a constituent national assembly to be elected on the broadest possible suffrage. In December the date of the election for this body was announced as January 19, 1919. On November 28th

the former Kaiser's abdication, in which he renounced for himself for all time his rights to both the imperial and the Prussian thrones, and a similar renunciation by the crown prince were published. On December 28th disagreements between the two sections of the cabinet, growing out of the Spartacist disturbances in Berlin on Christmas Eve, led to the retirement of the Independents, Herren Barth, Haase and Dittman, leaving the Majority Socialists in entire control. With no legal support for the power which they were exercising, and mindful of the fact that, in any case, they represented but one party in the country, they could only pursue a temporizing policy until the meeting of the national assembly. They were bitterly accused of weakness by the parties of the Right for not dealing more rigorously with the Spartacist outbreaks.

Elections for the national assembly were held under the law of November 30th, which provided for universal manhood and womanhood suffrage for all citizens over the age of twenty. On the basis of the population before the war this would give an electorate of 39,000,000 (21,000,000 women and 18,000,000 men). However, elections were forbidden in Alsace-Lorraine, and the vote in the Polish provinces was light. Excluding these, a very heavy vote was polled, approximately 90 per cent. of the eligible voters participating. A great flood of election pamphlets and posters, and numerous canvassing processions had aroused a tremendous popular interest. Even the sick and crippled were carried to the polls. This heavy vote proves that the Ebert government was able to afford adequate protection to the voters, in the face of determined efforts by the Spartacists to prevent the election of a national assembly. It also proves that women participated quite generally; and that the people understood the importance of the decision which they were called upon to render.

The result of the election was as follows: The Majority Socialists secured 165 seats; the Christian People's party (Center), 91; the German Democratic party (Progressives), 75; the German National People's party (Conservatives), 38; the German People's party (National Liberals), 22; the

Independent Socialists, 22; and various other sectional and minor parties, 8.

As compared with the composition of the last Reichstag (which it must be remembered had only 397 members), the Majority Socialists have gained greatly, now holding 39 per cent. of the seats as against 27.5 per cent. held by both branches of the party in the old body. The Conservatives have lost equally heavily, dropping from 17.9 per cent. to 9 per cent. The strength of the Center has not been greatly altered, there being a slight loss from 22.2 per cent. to 20.7 per cent. The National Liberals have decreased in strength from 11.3 per cent. to 5.2 per cent. The Democratic (Progressive) party has gained from 11.6 per cent. to 18 per cent.

It will thus be seen that there has been a heavy movement toward the Left. This can largely be accounted for by the fact that the old negative gerrymander resulting from a failure since 1870 to redistrict the country has now been eliminated; and partly by the system of proportional representation now used for the first time. While there has been some shifting in opinion, it has been less than might have been expected. No party has an absolute majority in the Chamber, and what had been expected now became quite evident, viz., that any ministry which might command the confidence of this body would have to be coalition in character. The election, however, did much to clear the situation and to strengthen the Ebert government. It is of interest to observe that twenty-four women secured seats in the new assembly.

The government announced the convening of the national assembly for February 6th, at Weimar, the continual strikes and the constant Spartacist disturbance making Berlin an undesirable place. This decision was, however, bitterly assailed by the Independent Socialists. As the day approached the Spartacists became increasingly turbulent and there was serious doubt whether the assembly would be permitted to meet. The leaders of the soldiers' and workmen's councils called a general congress of these councils in Berlin for the same date, in order to indicate their lack of confidence in the government, and to confuse the situation as much as possible. The

government, however, was able to afford ample protection and the assembly convened without incident. The orderliness of the assembly made a good impression. The body displayed a high degree of coherence, and except for the Independent Socialists who had desired to postpone its meeting and now would have, if possible, frustrated its efforts, there was no disturbing element. The opening address by Herr Ebert was largely devoted to a vehement protest against the terms which the Allies had submitted for a renewal of the armistice. He asserted Germany's right to enter the League of Nations on equal terms, and demanded that German Austria be permitted to join the republic. Dr. David David, a Majority Socialist, was chosen president of the assembly, but on his entering the cabinet this post was filled by Herr Fehrenbach, the former Centrist president of the Reichstag. The voting for president and vice-president of the assembly indicated that a working understanding had been reached among the three major parties.

An executive was organized by electing Herr Ebert as President of the republic. He announced that as president he would not be a party man but maintain the two principles of his career, viz., pacifism and a stout adherence to the principles of a League of Nations. His first official act was to ask Herr Scheidemann to form a ministry. In this cabinet, consisting of fourteen members, the Majority Socialists had seven seats, the Democrats three and the Center three. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, whose politics are uncertain, held the post of minister of foreign affairs. The new chancellor announced the task of the government in the immediate future to be: (1) The maintenance of the unity of the state by means of a strong central authority; (2) the immediate conclusion of peace; (3) adherence to President Wilson's program; (4) rejection of any peace of violence; (5) restoration of Germany's colonial territories; (6) immediate repatriation of German prisoners; (7) admission of Germany into the League of Nations with equal rights; (8) general and reciprocal disarmament; (9) the constitution of general arbitration courts; (10) the abolition of secret diplomacy.

The national assembly and the new government appear to have started with as large a degree of popular confidence as was possible in the circumstances. By many the assembly was looked upon as a sort of cure-all for the ills from which the state was suffering. The Majority Socialist-Democratic-Centrist *bloc* represented 77 per cent. of the assembly, and might expect to command the active support of an equal proportion of the people. It is true that the personalities of Ebert, Scheidemann and Erzberger did not arouse enthusiasm, but this was a democratic régime, and doubtless the change from the aloofness and pomp of royal courts and aristocratic ministers to these simple burghers was a welcome one to many.

It required only a short time, however, to show that neither the assembly nor the executive could command the respect of the nation. The former lost itself in interminable debate. There is none of the rapid cross-fire of questions and interruptions which give the proceedings of the House of Commons a never-failing interest. Rather do long-winded party-hacks indulge in what appear to be copybook speeches. One remembers that it was this same tendency to speech-making that contributed largely to the futility of the Frankfort Parliament in 1848. Furthermore, in spite of the new basis of election, it developed that most of the leaders of the Reichstag were returned to the assembly, and the membership in general was much the same. Where new men of ability were elected they have been regarded as political upstarts and deprived of influence by the traditionalized and hidebound fogeys who were in control. They have not been appointed to important positions on the committees or given a chance to be heard. Within two months of its convening the assembly was being generally criticized in the press as having completely failed to rise to the occasion, and by June it had almost ceased to attract any attention.

Nor has the experience of the government been much happier. Inclining more and more to the Right in its policy, it aroused increasingly bitter opposition from the Independent Socialists and Spartacists. A considerable number of Majority Socialists, indeed, became disgusted at what appeared to

be its lukewarmness in the cause of socialization. The difficulties in the way of economic reconstruction were doubtless insuperable; but the fact remains that it has accomplished nothing, indeed attempted almost nothing, toward the rehabilitation of the country. It is clear to every one that it is largely controlled by the bureaucracy, which has changed but little. The root of the whole trouble is that the men who are at the helm, whether in governmental or administrative posts, are the same who were responsible for the war. A few of the loftiest personages have been retired, but, on the whole, the old figures and the old methods are in the ascendancy. A real revolution would have brought Maximilian Harden to the fore. He has had the courage to denounce the hypocrisy of a republic whose promoters have immediately appointed monarchists to the highest posts; who say that Germany was not defeated and threaten Bolshevism if the peace terms are not to their liking.

On the other hand, the parties of the Right have found ample cause to criticize the government's weakness and condemn its opportunism. It continued to exist merely because there was no one else to take its place. It was generally predicted that it would fall on the question of the peace treaty, whether it decided to accept the treaty or not. One man alone has thus far risen into a commanding prominence which forecasts for him the possibility of a career of more than a few short weeks. That is Herr Noske, Minister of National Defense. He is described as an imperialist Socialist, who supported the war throughout, expressing at times chauvinistic sentiments which would do credit to von Tirpitz or Bernhardi. He is a believer in force, and has known how to use the volunteer military units, which were recruited ostensibly for the campaign against the Poles on the Eastern border, effectively against the Spartacists. It is believed that had he a free hand he would give short shrift to the Bolsheviks.

Alongside the regularly constituted, albeit at first provisional, government, there has existed a second government, or set of governments, which have displayed in many respects more strength, vitality and initiative. This is the system of

workmen's and soldiers' councils, or *Asräts* as they have come to be called from the initials (*Arbeiter und Soldaten Rat*). As a phase of the revolution, and coincident with the establishment of the provisional governments for the nation and the several states, self-constituted councils of workmen and soldiers seized control of the government in many of the principal cities, including Berlin. These bodies sprang up like mushrooms and quickly secured an authority which the provisional governments could not gainsay. They appear generally to have permitted the city officials, even the *Bürgermeisters*, to remain in office, confining themselves to a general supervision except for taking over the police function. The Berlin council, pending the establishment of a central executive council representing all the councils of the country, assumed to act as such. Eventually congresses of representatives from the several local councils were held and a central executive council set up. Gradually, too, the basis of their authority has been more clearly defined, though varying in different cities. In Berlin all workers, twenty years of age, whose earnings do not exceed 1000 marks, are eligible to elect, and to be elected, to the workmen's council; while in Hamburg workers are defined as including "owners, directors, managers," etc., as well as wage earners. Their party composition has also varied a great deal. The Berlin council in the earlier period consisted of seven Majority Socialists, seven Independent Socialists and two Democrats. The tendency has been, however, for them to become predominantly Independent and Spartacist. They are not to be held responsible for the Spartacist uprisings, though these have in many instances had for their purpose the strengthening of the councils.

At first there seems to have been a harmonious understanding between these councils and the governments. The central government recognized them as the bearers of the revolutionary will of the people, and as a board of control over the entire administration of their respective areas. Almost from the beginning, however, differences between the councils and the governments began to develop, which at times have issued in open civil war.

Neither the state nor national governments have generally thus far felt sufficiently strong openly to defy the councils or to undertake their suppression. The peculiar situation is indicated by the fact that the councils use the chambers of the diets for their congresses, and the governments cannot say them nay.

The councils have conducted their campaign for complete recognition most cleverly. They have asserted their right to be considered the true successors of the old executive, have maintained their right to control of the army, have opposed the convening of the national assembly, and called a general congress of councils to meet in Berlin on the day the assembly convened at Weimar. They have utilized general strikes to force compromises from the regular governments. About the middle of March they succeeded in compelling the central government to accord them a certain recognition. Chancellor Scheidemann announced that it was the intention of the government to "anchor" the council plan deep and fast in the constitution, but as yet the exact form which this constitutional recognition will take has not appeared.

BY GEORGE SAUNDERS

It must be acknowledged that the German Government and National Assembly proceeded in an expeditious and businesslike manner to give the empire a new constitution. The National Assembly, elected by universal male and female suffrage, met on February 6th, at Weimar, and within four days enacted a provisional constitution, in accordance with which it chose a provisional president of the new empire (Herr Ebert) and set up a Council of States to take the place provisionally of the old Federal Council. The president appointed a ministry of the empire, which proceeded to draw up the scheme of a definitive constitution. This measure, after having been materially revised by a special committee of the Assembly and by the Assembly itself in plenary session, passed the third reading on July 31st, and was promulgated on August 11th.

The new constitution contains 181 articles, the last 16

of which are of an explanatory or a supplementary or a provisional character. The main body of the document falls into two parts, the first of which deals with the construction and the competence of the empire, the second with the fundamental rights and duties of German citizens. Under the first heading are included the empire and the German lands; the Reichstag; the imperial president and government; the council of the empire; legislation; administration; and justice. Under the second heading come the rights and duties of the individual and of associations; religion and religious societies; education; and economic life.

As compared with the constitution under which the late German Empire existed, the new arrangements exhibit one feature which is of fundamental importance. The old imperial constitution of 1871, like that of the North German Confederation on which it was built, was essentially a treaty between the rulers of the different German states. The constitution of August, 1919, is the expression of the will of the sovereign German people expressed through its representatives in the National or Constituent Assembly, which alone and without the coöperation of the president or the Committee of States enacted the new arrangements.

The significance of this fact is twofold. It establishes, first, the democratic character of the new empire, and, secondly, the more complete unification of the German people. There has been throughout the debates a controversy, which indeed was never entirely dormant under the old régime, between the supporters of state rights and the advocates of complete national and political unity. The latter have not achieved their supreme object, the obliteration of the separate state frontiers, the total abrogation of separate state rights, and the unreserved absorption of the German states in a single republic. They have, nevertheless, succeeded in placing the law of the empire above the law of the state. Article 13 says that "Imperial law annuls state law" (*Rechts-recht bricht Landrecht*). It is the business of the state governments and parliaments to bring their laws into accord with those of the empire and, in case of dispute, the decision lies with a supreme court of the empire, which will

eventually be set up. Indeed, as a foretaste of what the so-called "Unitarists" contemplate, the expression "state" is entirely eliminated from the constitution, and the former German states are now called "territories" or "lands" (*Länder*). It is true that they retain some essential attributes of "states," inasmuch as they have their own governments, elect their own representative assemblies, and legislate on a variety of subjects on which the empire does not for the present claim the sole right of legislating (Articles 12, and 6 and 7). But the empire has by the new constitution encroached upon a great many important spheres which were formerly reserved for the sovereignty of the states.

Under the old constitution Bavaria and, in a lesser degree, Württemberg and Saxony, retained a certain independence in the organization of their military forces. They had War Ministers of their own, and Bavaria had separate army estimates. All this has been abolished by Article 79, which enacts that the organization of the national defenses is to be arranged on a unified basis, though some regard is to be paid to local peculiarities. In accordance with this provision, Noske, the Minister of Imperial Defense, has assumed supreme control of all the German forces. The Prussian, Saxon, Bavarian, and Württemberg War Ministers have vacated their posts, and provisional officials, mere representatives of the Imperial Minister, have been appointed by Noske or by the President of the empire in their stead. The new German Army (*Reichswehr*) has been divided into four main groups or commands, with headquarters at Berlin, Kassel, Stettin, and Munich. Subordinate to the Berlin command is Dresden, and to the Kassel command, Stuttgart and Hanover. These arrangements suffice to show how radical are the constitutional changes in the sphere of the army, when they come to be carried out in detail.

Another sphere in which the lines are laid for complete unification is that of the railways. What Bismarck and his successors failed to achieve, an all-German imperial railway system, is enacted by the new constitution. Article 89 says that "it is the business of the empire to take over into

its possession the railways which subserve general traffic and to administer them as a unified system of communications." Until the acquisition of the railways by the empire has been completed, the Imperial Government may exercise very wide powers in the administration of such railways as still remain in the possession of any of the states. It can even build new lines wherever it thinks that they are required in the general interest; and the state through whose territory these lines are to pass cannot prohibit their construction. In pre-war times Prussia managed her great railway system, which extended beyond her own borders, with great skill and reaped large profits, which were partly employed for state purposes, like the amelioration of the backward eastern districts. According to the new constitution the united imperial railways, though their estimates will be included in the general budget of the empire, will be managed as a separate business concern. They will have to defray their own expenditure, amortize their debt, and maintain a reserve fund (Article 92). Although the Prussian Ministry of communications had, under the old régime, acquired a considerable measure of control over the whole railway system of Germany, it is evident that the radical unification for which the constitution provides must have far-reaching consequences for the political centralization of the empire and for the real absorption of Prussia itself in the empire. There is also to be a complete unification of the postal system; Bavaria will lose her separate postal rights and her separate postage stamps (Article 88). It is not astonishing to learn that these changes met with considerable opposition from the Bavarian particularist point of view in the National Assembly.

Of still more vital significance for the unification of the empire is the centralization of the finances. This is not explicitly enacted in the new constitution, but Article 84 gives the empire legislative power with regard to the management of taxation in the separate territories (states) "so far as the unified and uniform execution of the imperial taxation laws demands." The empire, moreover, can institute the authorities who are to be entrusted in the states with

the collection of imperial taxation and can define their powers. Direct taxation, until the date of the levy for the imperial defenses the year before the war, had been the prerogative of the separate states. The scheme of taxation recently announced by Herr Erzberger, the Imperial Minister of Finance, shows that this preserve of the separate states will now be formally invaded by the empire, with the probable result that the states will more and more lose the basis for their separate political existence.

One of the new institutions which marks the supersession of some of the old state rights is the Reichsrat or Council of Empire. It forms the definitive substitute for the old Federal Council, but its position is very different. Under the old régime all legislation was initiated in the Federal Council, where the supremacy of Prussia, and with it the personal supremacy of the King of Prussia, the German Emperor, was practically secured. The larger states will be represented in the Reichsrat by one vote for each million inhabitants, and each state will have at least one vote. No state is to have more than two-fifths of the votes (Article 61). Roughly speaking, the new council of the empire will be composed of about 60 to 65 members, of which Prussia will appoint 24 to 26. These delegates will be chosen from the members of the governments of the separate states. In the case of Prussia, however, it is enacted (Article 63) that the half of its representatives on the council must be supplied by the Prussian *provincial* administrations in a manner which a future Prussian law is to decide. This provision is manifestly intended as a sop to the partitionists, who desired the division of Prussia into several smaller states, and who, if Professor Preuss's first draft of the constitution had been adopted, would have carried their point.

Under the old régime the Federal Council was supreme, although, as already mentioned, that supremacy was in practice exercised by the King of Prussia through the chancellor. The Imperial Secretaries of state were mere organs of the Imperial Chancellor. Now there is an Imperial Government with ministers who in all essentials are independent of the Council of Empire (Reichsrat). The members of the Im-

perial Government have the right to attend the sittings of the Reichsrat, over which one of them is to preside. The sessions of the Reichsrat, unlike those of the old Federal Council must as a rule be public. The Reichsrat, it is true, can initiate legislation, for the Imperial Government is bound to submit its legislative proposals to the Reichstag.

The popular assembly, the Reichstag, also has the power of legislative initiative, and so has the electorate itself. In the case of the electorate, the demand for a legislative measure (which must first be formally drafted) must be supported by at least one-tenth of the registered electors. If the Reichstag thereupon passes the measure without alteration, no further plebiscite is required. Otherwise, it would appear (Article 73, section 3), a general plebiscite on the measure has to be taken.

The Reichsrat may hold up a measure which has been passed by the Reichstag. In that case the measure goes back to the Reichstag and, if no agreement is attained, the president of the empire may within three months order a plebiscite. If he does not decide to take this course the measure lapses. If, however, a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag maintains the bill, the president must either within three months promulgate the measure as law or must ordain a plebiscite (Article 74). These arrangements, it will be seen, represent a great curtailment of the powers of the state governments in the initiation and control of legislation.

The only other points in the constitution which space permits to be dealt with here are the articles which define the position and powers of the president. President Ebert was elected by the National or Constituent Assembly. The constitution provides that the president shall be chosen by the whole German electorate, but a law has first to be passed in order to regulate the mode of election. The president takes in the new constitution the place which the German Emperor occupied under the old régime, but his powers are, naturally, much more limited. He is to be elected for seven years, but may be reëlected—how often the constitution does not say. Before the expiration of his period of office he may be deposed by a plebiscite on the initiative of a two-

thirds majority of the Reichstag (Article 43). If the plebiscite results in the rejection of the proposal for deposition, the president is to be regarded as reelected for another seven years. Like the emperor under the old régime, the president is to be the representative of the empire in its international relations, but, unlike the emperor, he is subject to the decision of the Reichstag in the matters of the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace (Article 45). He has the supreme command of the armed forces of the empire, and he appoints and dismisses the officials of the empire and the officers of the army and, presumably, of the navy, although, by the way, there is no mention of a navy in the whole constitution. All dispositions and ordinances of the president, including his control of the army and of military appointments, require the signature of the Imperial Chancellor or of the minister whose department they concern. These ministers thereby take responsibility for the president's acts, a responsibility which does not merely, as under the old régime, necessitate the delivery of a speech in the Reichstag but entails the minister's resignation, if the Reichstag expresses its want of confidence in him (Article 54).

The president of the empire, the chancellor, and the ministers can be impeached at the instance of the Reichstag before the future State Court of Justice. But, as has been pointed out by German critics, and as, indeed, the constitution expressly states, they can be brought to trial only on the charge of having "culpably infringed the constitution or a law of the empire." The Bülows, the Bethmann-Hollwegs, and the Michaelises would have got off scot free. It was their acts of policy, not breaches of the constitution or of the laws, that wrought the damage.

In examining the prerogatives of the German President it is interesting to speculate upon the loopholes which the constitution might afford for establishing a dictatorship or restoring the monarchy. In this connection it is important to note that after having, on the second reading, adopted an article proposed by the Independent Socialists for the permanent exclusion of all members of the former ruling families from candidature for the presidency, the National As-

sembly on the third reading rejected this article—by 198 votes to 141. Unfortunately, there is no adequate report of either of the debates available. There must have been some interesting discussion of the possibility of a restoration. The decision of the Reichstag was probably dictated by the consideration that all Germans are in future to be equal before the law, and that the exclusion of the princes would establish an inequality. The ex-Emperor's sons and grandchildren, as is well known, are allowed to live in Germany without incurring any disabilities.

The president's control of the army, it has been noted, is subject to the responsibility of the chancellor or the war minister, expressed in their counter-signature of his ordinances. But, in the event of civil disorder, he can apparently act at once on his own initiative, "if necessary with the help of the armed forces" (Article 48). He can also, in the same emergency, suspend a number of articles of the constitution which guarantee the liberties of the citizen and freedom of speech, writing and public meeting. It is true that he must "without delay" inform the Reichstag of the exceptional measures which he has adopted, and that the Reichstag may demand that these measures should be abandoned. Yet it is conceivable that, if a president secretly cherished reactionary aims and were supported by the bulk of the army, he might go far in achieving his object before the Reichstag could intervene. A German MacMahon, or Louis Napoleon, might wrest the constitution to his own ends.

BY SEÑOR AZHEITUAS

The revolution is being conducted in an orderly manner, and the fights between groups of officers and the Red Guard were merely insignificant skirmishes, that is to say, if the radical transformation of the country is taken into account. Order is maintained chiefly through the indifference of the public at large. People regard the red flags waving over public buildings as no concern of theirs, since, although the restoration of the Empire is not contemplated, no one believes in the permanence of the Social Republic. The organizers of the revolution know that, in order to find favor

with the law-abiding public, they must prove that not only do they not intend to disturb the public peace, but that they will use every means in their power to maintain it. Hence the continual proclamations and speeches by the revolutionary leaders enjoining the maintenance of order. These proclamations clearly reveal the fear that disorganization may bring the whole revolutionary fabric to the ground. The public indifference is the chief factor in the maintenance of the public services. The service of food supplies is the object of special zeal since, in view of the present shortage, a hitch would mean famine, and famine would mean revolt.

The old Imperial organizations coöperate in the consolidation of the Social Republic since they consider it a crime to disturb the citizens, their women and children. Without the aid of the State officials of all ranks the Soldiers' and Workmen's Committees would be helpless. It is their love of order and of their neighbor which is the salvation of the German people in this fateful hour. The authorities appointed by the Empire desire to save the people further suffering after four years of war and privation.

Until quite recently there was still a danger of conflict between the two Socialist groups, but the Soldiers' Council has imposed harmony. The Independent Socialists desired communism and the exclusion of the middle class, whereas the followers of Ebert were adverse to communism, and considered the assistance of the middle class essential to the building of the new State. The majority of the Independents have fallen into line and only the Spartacus group of Liebknecht remains outside the revolutionary organization. The Germans have confined themselves to imitation of the Russians; the Soldiers' and Workmen's Committees are a copy of the invention of Lenin and Trotsky, and all the literature published has already appeared in Russian. The German genius is adaptive rather than creative, and the men at the head of the movement show gifts of organization and of adaptation of theories and inventions from abroad, but a total absence of original ideas. The German revolution is an imitation of the Russian revolution, but without its violence, since the German character will not permit disorder.

BY PRESIDENT EBERT

Address delivered to the German Assembly at its opening session of
February 7th

The Imperial Government welcomes through me the Constituent Assembly of the German nation. With a special warmth I greet the women who for the first time appear in the Imperial Parliament with equal rights. The Provisional Government owes its mandate to the revolution. It will return it into the hands of the National Assembly. In the revolution, the German people rose against an obsolete collapsing tyranny. (Hisses from the Right.) As soon as the right of the Germans to self-determination is assured, it returns to the road of legality. Only on the broad highway of Parliamentary discussion and decision can the urgent changes in the economic and social spheres be progressively achieved without destroying the Empire and its economic position. ("Hear, hear.") Therefore the Government welcomes in this National Assembly the supreme and single sovereign in Germany. (Applause.) We have done forever with the old kings and princes by the grace of God. (Loud applause on the Left; hisses on the Right: renewed loud applause on the Left; cries from the Right, "Wait!") We deny no one his sentimental memories, but as surely as this National Assembly has a great Republican majority, so surely is the old God-given dependence abolished forever. The German people is free, remains free, and governs itself for all the future. (Cries from the Independent Socialists, "With Noske.") This freedom is the one hope which remains to the German people—the one way by which it can work itself out of the bloody morass of war and defeat. We have lost the war; this is not the consequence of the revolution. (Cries from the Right, "Oh, oh!" Cries from the Left, "No, never!") Ladies and gentlemen, it was the Imperial Government of Prince Max of Baden which began the armistice which made us defenseless. After the collapse of our allies, and in view of the military and economic situation, there was nothing else for it to do. ("Hear, hear.") The revolution declines the responsibility for the misery into

which the evils of the old autocracy, and the arrogance of the military threw the German people. ("Hear, hear." Loud applause from the Socialists; protests from the Right.) It is also not responsible for our serious shortage of food. ("Hear, hear." Protests, and a cry of "Soldiers' Councils.") The fact that by the hunger blockade we have lost many hundreds of thousands of human lives—that hundreds of thousands of men, women, children, and aged people have fallen victims to it—disposes of the story that we could have managed with our food supplies if the revolution had not come. Defeat and food shortage have handed us over to the enemy Powers. But not only we, but also our enemies, have been terribly exhausted by the war, and the feeling of exhaustion among our enemies springs from their effort to indemnify themselves at the cost of the German people, and the idea of exploitation is brought into the work of peace. These plans of revenge and oppression called for the sharpest protest. (Loud applause from all sides.) The German people cannot be made the wage slaves of other nations for twenty, forty, or sixty years. (Loud applause.) The fearful disaster of the war for all Europe can only be repaired if the peoples go hand in hand. (Applause.) In view of the misery of the masses of the peoples; in view of the mass misery on every side, the question of guilt seems almost small. Still, the German people is resolved itself to call to judgment all against whom deliberate guilt or deliberate baseness can be proved. But those ought not to be punished who themselves were victims—victims of the war, victims of our former lack of freedom. ("Hear, hear," from the Socialists.) To what end, on their own witness, did our enemies fight? To annihilate Kaiserism. Kaiserism exists no more. It is abolished forever. The very fact of this National Assembly proves it. They fought "to destroy militarism." It lies in ruins, and will never rise again. (Cries from the Independent Socialists, "You are setting it up again.") According to their solemn proclamation, our enemies fought "for justice, freedom, and a permanent peace," but so far the armistice conditions have been of unprecedented severity and have been pitilessly carried through. Without more ado, Alsace

is treated as French territory. The elections to the National Assembly prescribed by us have been illegally prevented. ("Shame!") The Germans have been driven out of the country—("Shame!")—and their properties sequestrated. The occupied territory on the left of the Rhine has been cut off from the rest of Germany. The attempt is being made monstrously to extend the provision of the armistice agreement that no public property is to be made away with, and to turn it into a general financial enslavement of the German people. Though we have long been in no condition to renew the war, our eight hundred thousand prisoners of war are still kept back and most seriously threatened by psychological collapse and the hardship of forced labor. ("Shame!") In this act of Might policy, there is no trace of the spirit of reconciliation. The armistice conditions are explained on the ground that they were imposed on the old Hohenzollern régime. What justification is there for continually intensifying them against the young Socialist Republic, in spite of the fact that we do our very utmost to satisfy the very heavy obligations laid upon us? We warn the enemy not to drive us to extremities. Any German Government may one day be compelled, like General Winterfeldt, to renounce all further participation in the peace negotiations and thrust upon the enemy the whole burden of the responsibility until the new order of the world! Let them not place before us the dangerous choice between starvation and disgrace. Even a Socialist People's Government, and this one above all others, must hold fast to its principle that it would rather suffer the extremity of want than be dishonored. (Loud applause.) If to the millions who have lost everything in the war and fear to lose nothing more were added also those who believe that Germany has nothing to lose, then tactics of desperation would irresistibly prevail. Germany laid down her arms in confidence, trusting in the principles of President Wilson. Now let them give us a Wilson peace, to which we have a claim. (Applause.) Our free People's Republic—the whole German people—aims at nothing other than to enter with equal rights into the League of Nations, and there win for itself a position of respect by industry and probity.

(General applause.) Germany can still do the world many services. It was a German who gave the workers of the world scientific Socialism. We are on the way to leading the world once again in Socialism, since we serve that Socialism which alone can be permanent, which increases the prosperity and the *Kultur* of the people—Socialism in process of realization. Once more we turn to all the peoples in the world with the urgent appeal to see that justice is done to the German people—not to permit the annihilation of our hopeful beginnings by the oppression of our people and our economic life. The German people has won its right to self-determination at home. It cannot sacrifice that right abroad. We cannot renounce uniting the whole German nation in the frame-work of a single Empire. (Applause.)

Our German-Austrian brothers as far back as November 12th last in their National Assembly declared themselves to be part of the great German Republic. (Applause.) Now the German-Austrian National Assembly has again, amid storms of enthusiasm, sent us its greeting and given expression to the hope that our National Assembly and theirs will succeed in again uniting the bonds which violence tore asunder in 1866. (Applause.) German-Austria must be united with the Motherland for all time. (Applause.) I am sure that I am speaking for the whole National Assembly when I welcome this historic manifestation sincerely and joyfully, and reply to it with heartfelt fraternity. (Loud applause.) The brothers of our blood and destiny can be assured that we will welcome them with open arms and hearts in the new Empire of the German nation. (Applause.) They belong to us and we belong to them. (Applause.) I may also express the hope that the National Assembly will empower the future Imperial Government to negotiate as soon as possible with the German-Austrian free State concerning the final union. (Applause.) Then there will be no more frontier posts between us. Then we shall really be a single people of brothers. (Loud applause.) Germany must not again fall into the old misery of disintegration and confinement. It is true that history and the past stand in the way of the creation of a strongly centralized

unitary State, but the different tribes and tongues must be harmonized into a single nation with a single speech. (Applause.) Only a great united possibility of developing our economic life—a politically capable, strong, single Germany—can secure the future of our people. (Applause.) The Provisional Government has entered into a very evil heritage. We were the liquidators of the old régime. ("Hear, hear," from the Left; protests from the Right; applause on the Left.) We, with the support and at the request of the Central Council of the German Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils have applied all our strength to overcoming the danger and misery of the transition period. We have done everything to set economic life in motion again. (Protests from the Right.) These continued interruptions (turning to the Right) prove truly that in the hard days which Germany has passed through in the last few weeks and months you have learned little indeed. (Storms of applause from the Left.) If the success of our work has not corresponded with our desires, the reasons must be rightly appreciated. Many employers, accustomed to the high secured profits which the war economy in the old monarchical and protectionist State created for them, have neglected to display the necessary initiative. Therefore, we address to the employers the urgent appeal to help with all their strength the restoration of production. (Applause.) On the other side we call to the workers to employ all their strength in work, which alone can save us. ("Hear, hear.") We understand the psychology of those who, after an undue expenditure of strength in time of war, now seek relaxation. We know how difficult it must be for those who have lived for years on the battlefield to settle down to peaceful work; but it must be. We must work and create values, otherwise we collapse. ("Hear, hear.")

Socialism means organization, order, and solidarity, not high-handedness, perversity, and destruction. There must no longer be room for private monopolies and capitalist profit without effort in time of national emergency. Therefore, profit is to be methodically obviated where economic development has made a trade ripe for socialization.

The future looms before us full of anxiety. In spite of all that, we trust in the indestructible creative power of the German nation. ("Hear, hear.") The old foundations of the German position based on force are forever destroyed. The Prussian hegemony, the Hohenzollern army, the policy of the shining armor have been made impossible among us for all future. As November 9, 1918, follows on March 18, 1848, so must we here in Weimar complete the change from Imperialism to Idealism, from world power to spiritual greatness. ("Hear, hear.") Now must the spirit of Weimar, the spirit of the great philosophers and poets, again fill our life, fill it with the spirit described in *Faust* and in *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*. Not roaming in the interminable and losing one's self in the theoretical, not hesitating and wavering, but with clear vision and firm hand taking a firm hold on practical life.

So will we set to work with our great goal clear before our eyes. To maintain the right of the German people, to anchor firmly in Germany a strong democracy and to fill it with true social spirit and Socialist character. ("Hear, hear.") So shall we create an Empire of right and of righteousness, founded on the equality of everything that wears the form of mankind.

President Ebert's address of February 11th, after his election by the Assembly, to be Provisional State President of Germany

I will administer my office not as the leader of a single party, but I belong to the Socialist Party and cannot forget my origin and training. The privileges of birth already have been eliminated from politics and are being eliminated from social life.

We shall combat domination by force to the utmost from whatever direction it may come. We wish to found our State only on the basis of right and on our freedom to shape our destinies at home and abroad. However harsh may be the lot threatening the German people, we do not despair of Germany's vital forces.

THE RESCUE OF POLAND

THE FIRST MEETING OF A POLISH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANCIENT COUNTRY

FEBRUARY 10, 1919

ALEXANDER KAKOWSKI
IGNACE PADEREWSKI

JOSEPH PILSUDSKI
HERBERT HOOVER

On February 10, 1919, the newly constructed Republic of Poland came into formal existence through the first sitting of a National Assembly elected by the people, as that of Germany had just been, and having for its purpose the organizing of a constitutional government. This date thus marked the end of the period of confusion and of tumultuous disorganization from which the Poles had been suffering all through the War.

Russia's breakdown had left Russian Poland, as well as the German Polish regions, in Germany's hands; and Germany had placed in nominal command a "Regency Council" of Poles, sitting at Warsaw, the ancient capital. Of course this Council was compelled to rule under Germany's dictation, and its most noted member, General Joseph Pilsudski, soon resigned and began working for a more real independence. He was imprisoned by the German authorities.

With the breakdown of the Central Powers in the fall of 1918, the Regency Council was able to assume a genuine control of Poland, including also the Austrian Polish provinces. The reunion of all these lands, remaking ancient Poland, was afterward approved and decreed by the Peace Conference at Paris, and made part of the final Peace Treaty. On June 28th, the day of the signing of the general Treaty, the Allies also signed a special treaty with Poland, thus completing the formal recognition of her independence.

Meanwhile there had long existed in Paris a committee of Polish exiles working in harmony with the Allies for Poland's independence, raising Polish armies in the Ally lands. At the head of these exiles stood M. Dmowski, a Polish statesman of the old Russian government, who was accepted as Poland's representative at the Peace Conference and most ably handled her cause.

The Regency Council in October of 1918 summoned the Paris committee to join it in forming a temporary Polish government; but the somewhat aristocratic government thus formed proved to have such little influence over the Polish masses that it soon formally dismissed itself. General Pilsudski was just then released from his German prison. He was the popular idol of the people, and the Regency Council at once requested him to assume a Dictatorship over the distracted and starving land, until a regular election could be held and a representative government formed.

Pilsudski promptly accepted; and being himself most interested in the military defense of the land against all the foreign foes environing it, he entrusted the civil government to the patriot who had been most active in bringing foreign aid to Poland, the celebrated musician, Ignace Paderewski. With Paderewski as Prime Minister and Pilsudski as Military President or Dictator, a general election was held on January 26, 1919; and the elected delegates gathered in Warsaw. On Sunday, February 9th, a solemn religious service of consecration was held in the great Roman Catholic cathedral at Warsaw; and on the next day the Assembly held its first formal meeting to begin its work of building the new Poland. Both Pilsudski and Paderewski promptly resigned their power, and both were thereupon authorized in their positions by the Assembly, and were requested to continue their services through Poland's days of trouble.

The dangers which the new Poland faced are here described by both its leaders, as also by the great American leader, Herbert Hoover. The latter visited Poland in his official capacity as head of the American reconstruction organization which saved eastern Europe from starvation in 1919. In addition to starvation, Poland's chief foes were: the Germans, seeking to retain as much of German Poland as they could; the Bolsheviks, seeking to unite the entire land to Russia; and on the south, Ukraine and Czecho-Slovakia each seeking to make its own boundaries as broad as possible at the expense of the Poles. Against all of these Pilsudski and his hastily gathered armies fought in turn.

BY ALEXANDER KAKOWSKI

Statement of the Polish temporary "Regency Council," issued on November 11, 1918

IN view of the threatening dangers from within and without, and in order to unify all military action and preserve order in the country, the Regency Council intrusts military authority over and the chief command of the Polish Armies to Brig. Gen. Joseph Pilsudski.

After the National Government has been organized, the Regency Council will, in accordance with its former declaration, transfer to it the sovereign power of the State, and by countersigning the manifesto, General Pilsudski binds himself likewise to surrender to it his military powers, which are a part of the sovereignty of the State.

Decree of November 14, 1918

To General Joseph Pilsudski, the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armies:

The temporary division of the sovereign power of the

State created by the decree of November 11, 1918, cannot last without harm to the nascent Polish State. This power should be indivisible. In view of that and in the best interest of the country, we decree to dissolve the Regency Council, and from this moment we place in your hands, Sir, all our duties and responsibilities before the Polish Nation for the transference of them to the National Government.

(Signed) ALEXANDER KAKOWSKI,
ZDZISŁAW LUBOMIRSKI,
JOSEPH OSTROWSKI.

BY GENERAL JOSEPH PILSUDSKI

Statement issued November 14, 1918, on accepting the Dictatorship over Poland

Upon my return from German imprisonment I found the country in a most chaotic state in the face of exceedingly difficult tasks, for the performance of which the nation must reveal its best organizing abilities. In my conversations with the representatives of almost all political parties in Poland, I found to my delight that the great majority share my opinion that the new Government should not only rest on democratic foundations, but be composed in a considerable proportion of representatives of the rural and urban masses. The difficult life conditions of the people have not allowed very many among them to attain professional expertness, which is in such great demand throughout the country. Realizing this, I have requested that in the interest of the highest efficiency the President of the Government appoint to the Cabinet recognized experts without any reference to their political affiliations.

By the nature of the situation, the character of the Government, pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, is purely provisional and precludes the enactment of any thoroughgoing social changes, which only the Representative Assembly can undertake.

Considering the peculiar legal position of the nation, I have requested the President of the Cabinet to submit to me the plan for the creation of the provisional supreme repre-

sentative authority of the Polish Republic, embracing all three parts of Poland.

BY CHARLES BONNEFON

Interview with General Pilsudski by a French news-correspondent in February, 1919

WARSAW.

Poland has placed at the head of its government the man who suffered most for its cause—a man who was a prisoner in Siberia, who was immured by the Germans in the fortress of Magdeburg, who was arrested for conspiracy in 1887, 1900, and 1917.

Joseph Pilsudski is a Socialist and a soldier. In 1894 he founded *The Workman*, which was printed secretly in Vilna. He organized the Polish Socialist party, and in 1904 started the uprising that drove the Cossacks from part of Warsaw. But this Lithuanian and son of a great landed proprietor, has devoted himself first and foremost to arousing the national sentiment of the working classes, and no one knows whether his Socialism is a means or an end.

In 1914 Pilsudski fought Russia at the head of a Polish legion, but when the Germans began to win, he changed his camp. His legion, which had already mutinied once, just before the Brusiloff offensive, refused to take the oath of allegiance to Germany. On July 21, 1917, Pilsudski was arrested with his faithful companion, Sosukovski, who is now Assistant Minister of War. On November 10, 1918, after the civil population of Poland had disarmed thirty thousand German soldiers, Pilsudski reentered Warsaw in triumph.

Since that date he has held the reins of power firmly with that pliable tenacity which is characteristic of him. He likes to employ a sudden change of tactics to defeat his opponents, and even his most intimate friends cannot read his thoughts.

Two cavalrymen with drawn sabers guard the foot of the staircase leading to his apartments. When he presents himself on public occasions, or before the assembled diplomatic corps, a herald precedes him, shouting: "Every one

uncover and stand silent before the War Lord of the Most Serene Republic!" Carefully chosen *aides-de-camp* throw into relief by their brilliant uniforms and glittering decorations the sober gray garb of the head of the government.

His enemies murmur that he imitates Bonaparte. His friends insist that he emulates Kosciuszko. One of his boyhood companions said to me: "I place him in the same group with Clemenceau and Foch. He will be the greatest man of reborn Poland." Others mutter that he is an adventurer, an undetected conspirator, a demagogue supporting himself upon the mob.

But while he appears to some people a Louis XI., suspicious and cunning, always on the alert for defense and attack, and to others a charming conversationalist, a profound thinker, a brilliant genius, all agree that he is a man of the highest intellectual ability, with a will of iron.

You can well imagine that my curiosity was piqued by all these characterizations. When I saw him my preconceptions were overthrown in an instant.

He is a large man, at first glance severe in aspect, with eyebrows that overhang his deepset and piercing eyes like heavy mustaches. His nose is long, and the nostrils are sensitive and mobile. His general aspect inspires you with an impression of honesty and sincerity.

General Joseph Pilsudski is the most genial and good-humored head of a government that I ever met. His conversation overflows with humor and is punctuated by great roars of laughter.

He said to me: "You have come, sir, at a moment unusually serious and decisive for Poland. There are questions which, as the head of the government, I cannot answer just now. For instance, I am unwilling to say what the attitude of Poland will be if the Entente decides either to make peace with the Bolsheviks or to continue the war.

"What I want to state first and most emphatically is that Poland needs to have the decision, whatever it may be, made immediately. The great evil afflicting our country is the fact that the Allies have no clear and definite program. We are left to face this big Eastern question all alone, because

Europe does not know what it wants. France and England can afford to wait and make combinations, and see what is going to happen. Possibly that is to their advantage. We Poles are next-door neighbors to Russia. Our success or failure depends on our acting promptly. We have got to decide 'yes' or 'no,' peace or war. We cannot wait any longer."

"Do you think," I inquired, "that a protracted war would ruin Poland?"

Poland's master answered: "What weighs upon us even more heavily than a war is the suffering of the last five years and the accumulation of distress they have brought. Our present military operations are not a serious drain upon us, as we have not been forced to mobilize as many men as would be required in a serious campaign. Our factories and our farms have plenty of labor. We have every confidence in our army. Last winter we were able to test the morale of our soldiers. Lacking equipment, munitions, and almost destitute of supplies for days at a time, they nevertheless fought admirably.

"We are facing a military organization very inferior to yours. Modern equipment does not play a decisive rôle in our campaign. We have accomplished all that was necessary up to the present by simple maneuvering. What we lack particularly is railway supplies, so as to concentrate and maneuver our troops more rapidly.

"My long experience with the Bolsheviks makes me confident of the future. Their soldiers are poorly commanded, poorly led, and irresolute. Some small advance parties will fight well. The great bulk of the troops behind them are hardly soldiers at all.

"I have studied carefully the tactics and strategy of the Bolsheviks. This is the result of my experiences so far: When upon the defensive the Bolsheviks will fight until evening; when night comes they light out. In attacking they will hold out only a few hours. Then their morale is exhausted and they relax their efforts. Their troops are very poor in maneuvering. So, in all honesty, I do not consider these forces formidable, although German officers are in-

structing them and draw up the plans of their general staff."

"But how about Kolchak?" I objected.

A loud burst of laughter was my answer. "Kolchak was still worse. His army was made up of officers without soldiers, or mercenaries without patriotism. Over and above that, it was miserably organized. His advance guard fought well, but the rank and file of his forces were even worse than the Bolsheviks."

"Neither do I fear the Germans just at present. A little later they will be a terrible danger. I was greatly disturbed over the German concentration in Courland. I know that their troops were well armed, well organized, and provided with everything. But these forces lacked confidence and enthusiasm. So we saw the Letts, poorly equipped, scantily provided with munitions, with no artillery except two little batteries, successfully resist and defeat these great warriors. That is inexplicable, unless you assume that the Germans lack morale. They have been defeated. The oppression of defeat still weighs them down. And, with all due respect to Ludendorff and Hofmann, and all those gentlemen who hope to restore the monarchy in their own country by restoring the monarchy in Russia, I am convinced that the Germans will not fight the Bolsheviks. They are thoroughly war weary. They would lie down under the task."

"You have just come from Vilna, General. Would you tell me your impression of the trip?"

The face of Poland's chief magistrate became fairly radiant: "Oh, as for me, I am a child of that country. Every one has known me all his life, and is fond of me. I am their local pride out there. They received me at Vilna like the leading local citizen, who has been the honor of the city."

"Are there as many Jews in Vilna as they say?"

"Their number is greatly diminished. Before the war Vilna contained 200,000 inhabitants. Since then they have joined all the suburban districts to the city proper. In spite of this extension it has not more than 120,000 people to-day. Many Jews have gone away."

"What is your policy toward White Russia, Lithuania, and the Ukraine?"

"I am a practical man, without preconceived plans and theories. I confine myself to figuring out the means at my disposal in advance, and applying them to the best of my ability to the purpose I seek. The wishes of the people in the territories we have occupied are, in my mind, the only rule to go on. I would not for all the world encourage Poland's occupying great regions filled with people at heart hostile. History has taught us Poles that in the long run such agglomerations of discordant elements are dangerous. Look at western Russia! When a country like Poland is in the process of restoration we must not load ourselves with costly embarrassments.

"We have carried liberty to these unhappy countries at the point of the bayonet. It is a liberty without conditions. I know perfectly well that many Poles do not agree with me. They interpret the opposition which certain of our neighbors show to becoming Poles to their "mental errors and their evil hearts." Some of our patriots say these people are Poles without knowing it. That is just what the Russians and the Germans used to say about us. They used to ascribe our Polish hatred of Russia and Germany to our 'stupid brains and our evil hearts.'

"I shall esteem it my greatest honor as a statesman and a soldier to have brought liberty to the peoples who are our neighbors. I know the historical ties that unite them with us. I know these ties were broken in places by the partition of Poland; but it is my first wish to efface every trace of that partition by liberating these oppressed nations. However, attach them to Poland by force? Never in the world! That would be to substitute the violence of to-day for the violence of yesterday."

BY SECRETARY LANSING

United States message to Poland, published January 29, 1919, recognizing the Paderewski government

The President of the United States directs me to extend to you, as Foreign Minister and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Polish Government, its sincere wishes for your success in the high office which you have assumed and

his earnest hope that the Government of which you are a part will bring prosperity to the Republic of Poland.

It is my privilege to extend to you at this time my personal greetings and officially to assure you that it will be a source of gratification to enter into official relations with you at the earliest opportunity. To render to your country such aid as is possible at this time, as it enters upon a new cycle of independent life, will be in due accord with that spirit of friendliness which has in the past animated the American people in their relations with your countrymen.

BY IGNACE PADEREWSKI

Address made in May, 1919

The Polish nation is to-day living through solemn moments. I suppose that in its eventual history there was never a time more solemn, more fateful than the present. The fate of our country is at stake; powerful people holding in their hands the destiny of the world, are building a framework for our independent existence, are deciding the frontiers of our State, and soon will pronounce a final sentence, from which, no doubt for long years, there will be no appeal, perhaps for many generations. Violent bursts of hope and of joy and anxiety are strongly shaking our national spirit. From every side, from every corner of our former commonwealth, people are coming here to Warsaw and going there to Paris, in frock coats and smock frocks, in old-fashioned country dress, in mountaineer costume, and they cry aloud and implore that their distant provinces should be united to the Polish state. The Polish eagle does not seem to be a bird of prey, since people are gathering themselves under its wings.

What will Poland be like? What will be her frontiers? Will they give us everything we should have? These are the questions that every Pole is asking. I am here to answer, as far as I am able, all these questions. I have taken part in the work of the Polish Delegation to the Peace Conference, and I am here to report on this work to the Seym, and I ask for attention. I will begin with what has been done. The Conference has only dealt as yet with one of their defeated

adversaries, the Germans. Conditions have been dictated to them, though they are not yet signed, which give us considerable advantages on the west frontier. We are not all satisfied with our frontier. I admit freely that I belong to the unsatisfied ones ; but have we really a right to complain ? The Conference tried to decide justly according to the rule on ethnographical and national majority as regards all territorial questions. They applied this rule to our territory, and we have obtained considerable advantages from it on the west. But not everything was decided according to this principle. Thus, for example, our Polish population in the Sycowski and Namydlowski district and in some parts of the locality of Posen has distinctly been wronged. The Polish Peace Delegation will do their best to have this remedied.

The press has already published the chief points of the Peace Treaty. I will, however, remark in passing that by this Treaty we are to receive more than 5,000,000 of population. This territory may yet be increased if the plebiscite in other districts formerly Polish has results favorable to us. The Peace Conference has not yet given us Warmia, Prussian Masuria, part of the Malborg district, also the Stzumsan, Kwidzynsan, and Suski districts, through which passes the railway line from Gdansk (Danzig) to Warsaw by way of the Mlava. The Peace Conference has given us the Keszybski coast, the Silesian mines, and the unlimited use of the port of Gdansk, also complete control over our Vistula, and a protectorate over the town of Gdansk under almost the same conditions as we had it in the most glorious days of our Commonwealth.

These conditions are different only in so far as present-day life is different from the life of that time. The area of the free town has been considerably increased. In the course of 126 years of Prussian oppression and systematic Germanization many Poles have forgotten their native tongue, and there are many real Germans settled in Gdansk. However, the former will soon remember Polish, and the others will soon learn it. Gradually Gdansk will tend to become what we wish it to become, if we show seriousness and common sense, enterprise, and political understanding. All

Polish State property is returned to Poland absolutely, without any burdens or expenses. On the whole, I consider that Poland may be grateful for the verdict. If we are not obliged to shed more of our blood, I say that this is a great and fine gift from God.

For about two weeks the affairs of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy have been under consideration. Naturally, our affairs there are extremely important. Already the matter has been eagerly discussed, and has been the subject of passionate and violent interpellations in this House, and of certain painful reproaches. Fortunately, this affair has taken a good turn. Our dispute with the Bohemians was not settled offhand. Time has calmed passion, and to-day, without renouncing our rights, we are quietly considering these matters, and the Bohemians are doing the same. The Peace Conference wishes that we should settle our quarrel with the Bohemians in a conciliatory manner among ourselves. Mr. Lansing expressed this wish in the name of the American delegation. I have had many conferences with Mr. Benes, the Bohemian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and with the most important representatives of Silesia, and I am glad to say that in my opinion the matter is on the right road.

If Parliament honors me with its confidence, I shall see President Masaryk in Prague to-morrow or the day after to settle the preliminaries of the agreement with him. I want to have the conference on our territory in Silesia, with the co-operation of delegates of the Polish Government, representatives of the General Military Staff, members of the National Council, also specialists, engineers, and lawyers. Yesterday I had the following reply to a question addressed to Mr. Masaryk, which I translate: "Thank you for your kind telegram. I shall be very happy to welcome you on a day to be named by yourself, only please give me immediate information as to the day of your arrival. I agree to the plan of a conference, and I expect we shall be able to lay a firm foundation for it. With most sincere good feeling for you and your people." (Signed) "Masaryk."

I come to other affairs. True to the national spirit, we shall never wage a war of conquest or gain. We sacrifice

our lives in defense of the lives and property of our countrymen, and in the conviction that our great sacrifice will insure the preservation of order and will protect Europe from the threatened ruin of the world's civilization. In defending the borders of our former Commonwealth, the life and property of the inhabitants, without discrimination between religion or language, we are at the same time protecting the west from the invasion of the east. We are doing the same as our ancestors did 700 years ago. We are not seeking new glory for the Polish arms. We are not boasting of our victories; but we cannot shut our eyes to the chivalrous virtue and civic merits of our incomparable soldiers. We express our admiration and gratitude to the commanding chief for the liberation of Lida, Swiencian, and Oilno from the Bolshevik hordes, for the liberation of Sambor, Drohobycz, Boryslav, Strye, Izolkiew, Brody, and Zloczow from the demoralized, merciless, and cruel Ukrainian troops. We express our warmest thanks and highest recognition to our heroic, brave, and devoted army.

The foreign press and different political parties abroad sometimes accuse Poland of having an imperialistic policy. One of our most prominent Deputies eloquently stated a few days ago that there is a general prejudice abroad against Poland, and, at the same time, said that the responsibility for this falls upon certain classes of our community. I do not go so far. I cannot blame any party for this. I must, however, remark that this prejudice actually exists, and is even spreading. The reproach of imperialism was made against us very long ago by the very three Empires that robbed us and divided us. To-day this reproach is made by just those people who are stretching out their greedy hands for Polish territory and its wealth. Though it is much easier to break down a hundred fortresses and reduce a thousand towns to dust than to overcome one prejudice, I consider that the moment is come for a great, powerful, and distinct voice, the voice of the Polish people, to make a declaration in this House which will confute all these unfounded foreign reproaches.

We never conducted a war of conquest, and we have no

intention of doing so. We do not want what belongs to others; we do not want to conquer anybody else's territory. Poland does not deny the right of Lithuania and Ukrainia to be independent, nor the right of the White Ruthenian people to individual development. Poland is ready to help them heartily and effectively. Food always follows the Polish soldier. We are sharing with the border peoples the supplies we get from America. In order to establish autonomy in these border countries, without prejudice to the future declarations of the Conference, we should immediately institute a plebiscite in these northeast territories. Let all the local populations declare their will freely and boldly. The result of the plebiscite will greatly facilitate the work of the Paris Conference.

I come to still more pressing matters. As you know, we have recognized the authority and dignity of the Peace Conference, as all other civilized nations have done, and we wait for its verdict. Up to the present its verdicts have been favorable to us. We voted here an alliance with the Entente, that is, with France, England, and Italy, who are continually sending us the help which is absolutely necessary to us in present circumstances. We have very much to be grateful for from America and its President. Without the powerful support of President Wilson, whose heart the best friend of the Polish cause, Colonel House, was able to win for us, Poland would no doubt have remained an internal question for Germany and Russia, at best confined within those frontiers which were assigned to her by the Germans in the Act of November 5, 1916. America is giving us food, America is giving us clothes, boots, linen, and munitions of war, and other supplies, on very easy terms, and with long credit.

Just before my departure from Paris, I received a letter from Mr. Hoover, promising Poland effective financial and economic help. That is the beginning of a very important help for us. Yesterday I learned that 2,000 tons of cotton would arrive at Gdansk in a few days, and that the Ministry of Finance in Washington were considering the question of granting Poland a considerable loan. Gentlemen, the Peace Conference, and especially England and America, with Presi-

dent Wilson at the head, while recognizing the necessity of our defending ourselves against the Bolsheviks, does not wish for further war on any front. Mr. Wilson expressed this wish repeatedly and very firmly. Could a Polish Prime Minister, director of the Polish Government, a man upon whose shoulders falls the really dreadful responsibility for the fate of his people in the near future, could such a man wave aside such demands? I did as my conscience prompted me. I acted as my love for my country and my honor as a Pole demanded. I said that I would do all I could to satisfy these demands, and I have kept my word.

An armistice was demanded. I agreed in principle to that. It was demanded that Haller's army should not fight against the Ukrainians. It was withdrawn from the Ukraine front, and finally it was required that the offensive should be stopped. Although the Ukrainians in their telegram of May 11th asked for the cessation of hostilities, on the 12th, at noon, they attacked us treacherously near Ustrzyk, bombarding the town of Sanok from aeroplanes. In the face of this criminal attack no force could stop the elemental impulse of our young soldiers. Like a whirlwind they threw themselves upon the enemy, and with lightning swiftness took Sambor, Drohobycz, Boryslav, Strye, Izolkiew, Sokl, Brody, and Zloczow, being joyfully greeted everywhere as saviors by the Polish and Ukrainian population. To-day our soldiers are probably approaching Stanislavow. But from Podwoloczysk and from Husiatyn a strong Soviet army has entered unhappy Galicia, or rather, Ruthenia. Haller's army will probably be obliged to fight on the Ukraine front, but not against the Ukrainians, only against the Bolsheviks, and perhaps it is fighting to-day.

On May 14th I broke off by telegraph all negotiations for an armistice, as I considered that after the way the Ukrainians had behaved themselves an armistice was absolutely impossible. The oppression, violence, cruelty, and crimes committed by them are without parallel. Wounded soldiers were buried alive in a wood near Lwow. Yesterday news came which brought mourning to our ministerial colleague, Linde. His wife's sister was murdered in Kolomia.

Gentlemen, I am far from blaming the Ukrainian people

for such crimes. It was not they who made such an army. Other people made it for them. But speaking of the Ukrainians, I must state that people who do such monstrous deeds cannot be treated as an army. Thus our Polish expedition into East Galicia is not a war, but a punitive expedition against bandits from whose oppression both the Polish and the Ruthenian population must be set free before law and order can be set up on this immemorially Polish territory. Law and order will quickly be introduced there by every possible means. We are, at least for the moment, strong there, but we shall not abuse this strength. None of us think of retaliation or revenge, nor would Polish sentiment ever permit such a thing. There should be liberty, equality, and justice for everybody. And in this spirit and with this wish I ask the honorable Seym to vote in favor of autonomy for East Galicia, and at the same time I ask for powers for the Polish Government to open peace negotiations with any Government in Ukrainia that shows moral strength and inspires confidence. I have finished.

Public Statement by M. Paderewski, September 18, 1919

From a Polish point of view, our one hope of future security as a State lies in the League of Nations. Upon it, and I fear upon it alone, depend the liberty of the Polish people and the successful development of democratic and liberal government in Poland. Standing, as we are, between Germany on one side and Russia on the other, we cannot hope to maintain our integrity during these years, while we build up the strength of our people, unless we have the protection of the League.

Poland at the present moment has 500,000 men under arms. Our people are short of food supplies, short of clothing, short of many of the necessaries of life. We are compelled to make every sacrifice to sustain the army, and this, with our population needing its resources for the up-building of the nation, in order that we may protect ourselves from encroachment.

To-day we are defending 1,500 miles of front against

Bolshevist forces, and in so doing, we stand as the front line in Europe against Bolshevik invasion from the east.

We are endeavoring to maintain this front line and at the same time to achieve an economic stability, to recuperate our people from the effects of repeated invasions of German and Russian armies. The task is a terrible one. The tax upon our strength will be too great unless we can have the assurance that there will be a body in the world to whom we can appeal for aid in the righting of our wrongs.

Poland has set up a democracy under the inspiration of the American people. Had it not been for American intervention in Europe we might possibly have had some semblance of independent Government under an autocratic overrule, but with American intervention and American help we have sought to establish not only the independence of the State, but also the internal liberty of our people, through the difficult road of democracy.

The pressure is upon us on all sides through military action and through Bolshevik propaganda and an intense propaganda from Germany. Unless we have a protective power in the world, under whose strength we can secure an opportunity for peaceful development and the solution of our internal problems, free from distracting and antagonistic influences, I fear for the safety of our democracy.

The great power and the support which it may furnish need not be military, its moral and economic force is all that we ask, and that power is the League of Nations.

BY HERBERT HOOVER

Statement made August 19, 1919, after visiting Poland

As a result of seven invasions by different armies the country has largely been denuded of buildings. The estates of the larger landowners have been destroyed, and while the peasants are cultivating approximately enough foodstuffs for their own supplies, these regions, which in normal times export large quantities of food, mostly from the large estates, are four-fifths uncultivated.

In normal times the town populations exist by exchanging manufactured goods to the peasants and landowners for food.

There has been virtually no import of manufactured goods for years, and the supplies of foodstuffs having vanished, the town populations are left entirely without support or employment. As there have been no manufactured goods to exchange, and as the currency no longer has any purchasing value in goods and the peasants do not care to exchange food-stuffs for it, there has been a total breakdown of the economic cycle.

In addition to the destruction and robbery which accompanied the repeated invasion of rival armies, these areas have been, of course, through a caldron of Bolshevik revolution and the intellectual classes either fled from the country or to a considerable extent were imprisoned. Some were executed. The Ruthenian peasants have been stirred up against the great landowners, which accounts for the destruction of the equipment of the large landed properties. It appears to us that it will require years for this region to recover, for animals must be provided, agricultural implements imported and the whole agricultural production restarted.

PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

THE OPEN THREAT OF RUPTURE

APRIL 7, 1919

SISLEY HUDDLESTON
EDWIN BORCHARD

RAY S. BAKER
GUILLAUME MARTIN

The surface harmony of the Peace Conference was always preserved. It would not be too much to say of the chief representatives of the Powers, that each one of them retained for each other one a high respect and even a warm personal friendliness. Yet their differences of purpose rapidly developed to a point where the only question was as to which could and would hold out the longest to win his way. The chief points of antagonism which thus divided the conference are here presented. Special emphasis is given, first, to the principle of "mandatory," which meant a very real approach toward universal freedom and equality, and second to the "League of Nations" argument and the final crisis of April 7th when President Wilson summoned his ship, the *George Washington*, to meet him at Brest, and was prepared to abandon the Conference, if the others would not bring the Treaty into closer harmony with the "Fourteen Points" upon which it was nominally based.

Of those trying days a general glimpse is here given from the viewpoint of Sisley Huddleston, a British eye-witness. Then comes the view of Wilson's supporters as ably presented by the official leader of the American press-representatives on the spot, Ray S. Baker. A French summary comes from the distinguished French political writer, Martin; and the scientific estimate of the value of the "mandatory" system is by Prof. Borchard, professor of Law at Yale University.

BY SISLEY HUDDLESTON

THE story of the two hundred odd days in Paris between the signing of the armistice and the signing of the Peace Treaty contains more stirring episodes than years of battle: event followed event with lightning rapidity, although the deliberations dragged, and the tense drama of those months was, especially for those who lived close to the heart of things and knew how frail was the peace struggling to birth, who watched with apprehension every

dispute, every fresh outbreak of fighting, every current of popular opinion which threatened to make the task of the statesmen impossible, a drama which at times was too poignant. The future of mankind was at stake. There were two alternatives: reconciliation, the possibility of universal co-operation in a spirit of good will to repair the ravages of fifty months of war and to make war impossible, or—a blind, egoistic struggle, the fear of general bankruptcy and the definite crash of civilization. Many could see no middle course. The war for victor and vanquished had gone on too long and only heroic efforts could save us from utter economic ruin, from a moral *débâcle* and from the submerging of all humanity's hopes. It was the gravest task that ever faced any body of the peoples' leaders: it was not a mere territorial readjustment: it was the rebuilding of the world. Were they equal to their job? Had they only parochial minds or would they see things with a broad vision? Their work was interrupted by a series of incidents which time after time nearly broke up the Conference and threw everything into the melting-pot. Chaos threatened, with the black night of a mondial revolution for which many forces openly strove.

BY RAY S. BAKER

It is possible, now that it is all over, to look back along the troubled history of the Peace Conference and to measure, with a little clearer vision, what it was that happened there and what President Wilson did.

Each of the five crises in the Peace Conference centered upon some point in the President's leadership and arose directly out of the clash between President Wilson's principles and ideals with the interests of other nations or groups of nations.

In at least three of these crises the Peace Conference was much nearer breaking up than the world yet knows. Some of these crises, like the one that centered around the Shantung decision, are fairly well known to the public, while others, though equally important, like that which attended the struggle to decide the future colonial policy of the world,

attracted almost no attention either at the time or since—this largely because the discussions were kept so secret. These five crises briefly were as follows, in the order in which they occurred:

First, the settlement of world colonial policy by the adoption of the new mandatory system.

Second, the fight between those who wanted the League of Nations Covenant made an integral part of the Treaty and those who wanted it left for discussion after the Treaty was adopted. It was really the struggle between those who wanted an effective League and those who did not want one.

Third, the crisis of April which led President Wilson to order the *George Washington*, and to consider the possibility of the withdrawal of America from the Conference.

Fourth, the President's note to the Italian people regarding the situation at Fiume which caused the Italian delegates to withdraw from the Conference.

Fifth, the Shantung settlement.

It was inevitable that President Wilson should be forced at Paris to bear the brunt of the heavy fighting—fighting that would have worn out a stronger, more robust man than he. For he had a double problem, a double task. He had not only to join the other delegates in making peace with Germany, but he had the far more difficult and delicate task, which grew more and more difficult as the Conference progressed, of upholding the disinterested American position against the insistent desires and necessities of the other allied nations.

Most people do not realize that most of the troubles at Paris, and every one of the really serious crises, arose not out of any differences of view regarding the terms to be imposed upon Germany, but out of deep-seated and often bitter disagreements among the Allies themselves. Throughout the six troubled months of the Conference the center and focus of the struggle was the conflict between President Wilson demanding a settlement upon broad principles (which every one had accepted!) and the other allied powers demanding various material reimbursements or advantages.

While the war was still in progress necessity united the

Allies: every one accepted Mr. Wilson's plan of settlement, and welcomed his strong leadership—for three reasons:

First, because his principles appealed to the great masses of the world as good in themselves, as the true, reasonable, and honest basis of settlement. This tended to disarm the opposition of the radicals in all European countries who were becoming more and more restless with the bloody continuation of the war.

Second, because a hearty acceptance of the American idea, and American leadership, helped to bring America with her vast resources more wholeheartedly into the war.

Third, because Wilson's diplomacy tended to divide and weaken German support of the war.

The moment the war ended in an unexpectedly complete victory, the high purpose and the unified spirit of the Allies began to fade away. They were not, after all, united nations. Each had its strong loyalties, its ambitions, its necessities, and these immediately began to reassert themselves. In the high moments of inspiration and enthusiasm of the war men had begun to believe in miracles: when it was over they found themselves back in the old world—and more than that, in a state of exhaustion and demoralization which some one has characterized as national shell-shock. It must never be forgotten that it was in this atmosphere of national shell-shock, exaggerated appearances, exaggerated fears, that the Treaty was made.

Even before the Peace Conference met, certain ominous things happened. At the same time that Wilson was making sanguine speeches in England regarding the league of nations, Clemenceau was telling the Chamber of Deputies in Paris that he still believed in the old-fashioned system of alliances as the only safe way of safety in the world and notable French leaders were advancing claims which would, if granted, defeat the very principles to which the Allies had agreed at the armistice. A little later the British elections returned a heavily conservative parliament endorsing a hard peace with Germany, and defeating some of Mr. Wilson's strongest supporters in the House of Commons. In Italy there began to be talk of the wide expansion of Italy in the

Adriatic and elsewhere. And finally, the November elections in America, which returned a Congress in opposition to the President, and the attacks made upon him by various Republican leaders in the Senate, tended to weaken his influence at Paris. To any one who had been in Europe during the last year of the war, before the Peace Conference began, as I had been, this change of attitude toward Wilson among the leaders (not among the people) was most evident.

No sooner had the Peace Conference got down to business, sitting within the double-doored, sound-proof room in the French Foreign Office, than the struggle began—and it centered at once upon an issue between President Wilson, demanding the acceptance of a broad principle of policy, and the Allies demanding that their interests be served. President Wilson had wished to have the hardest problems, those relating to European conditions, taken up first, because he believed that the danger to the world arose from the unsettled conditions there. But the irresistible temptation, as in all such conferences, was to put off hard questions, assign them to committees, and take up what seemed to be the easy problems first.

The easy problem here seemed to be the disposition of the German colonies. Every one was agreed from the beginning that they should not be returned to Germany. They appeared therefore to be the easy spoils of war: the jackpot of the great game. And one morning, without any introduction, without a word of warning, they prepared to carve them up and distribute them around.

That the plan for the division of the German colonies had all been worked out—and without any reference to the establishment of a new or a general principle—was clear enough when the prime ministers of several of the British colonies came into the Conference on January 24th, quite unexpectedly, and made prepared statements of their claims to the annexation of certain former German territory. Canada made no such demands. Although she had had great losses and made great sacrifices in the war—far greater in proportion than those of the United States—she made no selfish claim whatever for herself. It developed, also, at once,

that Japan expected to annex certain colonies, and France certain others: and that possibly Italy and Belgium would have to be permitted more extensive territorial concessions.

It was January 27th before Mr. Wilson got an opportunity to present his idea of a new principle of world colonial policy. He was against annexation: he declared for the development of each colony, not for the advantage of the nation that controlled it, but for that of the people who lived there. He thought the emphasis should be placed upon the welfare of the people, not upon the ownership of the land. The world should act as a trustee for these weak and backward people until the day when the true wishes of the inhabitants could be ascertained. Colonies should be assigned to certain mandatories or trustees who should be under the supervision of the League of Nations. And he wanted the principle to apply not only to German colonies but to all those parts of Turkey which were not to be returned to the Turks.

This at once precipitated a red-hot controversy. Mr. Hughes of Australia, especially, attacked the whole mandatory principle, and was supported less vigorously by the other British colonial premiers. M. Simon, the French Colonial Minister, appeared and made a long statement in support of the idea of frank annexation and set forth the French colonial demands to the Cameroons and Togoland. In this it was clear that he had the support of Clemenceau who called attention to the various secret treaties or "conversations" under which some of the colonies had already been disposed of. Mr. Lloyd George said that he was in favor of the *principle* of the mandatory, but he was also in favor of having the British colonies get what they wanted. They were all in favor of dividing up the colonies first and adopting the principle afterward! It was clear enough, throughout the discussion, that no one of the three except Mr. Wilson, had any real faith in the League of Nations. M. Clemenceau treated both the mandatory system and the League of Nations with finely turned irony which mirrored his entire opposition more clearly than any direct attack could have done. Mr. Wilson was placed in the position of

having to defend a new principle the working of which in minute detail no one could prophesy.

Finally Lloyd George held a separate meeting with the delegates of the British dominions, persuaded them to accept the mandatory principle and came in with a set of resolutions providing for its application. This caused further heated discussion, but finally, with certain changes, and after reservations by both France and Japan—for France was determined to have the privilege of raising troops in the colonies for her own defense—it was adopted by the Conference, and the essence of it was later incorporated as Article 22 in the League of Nations Covenant. This is the longest article, but one, and it establishes firmly the contention of the President. It places the control of colonies firmly upon a broad basis of principle. In short, the machinery for a new and liberal policy in world colonial administration is established; it will work or fail to work exactly in proportion to the good will and determination of the governments of the world to make it work—a generalization which is true also regarding the whole League of Nations Covenant.

BY PROF. EDWIN BORCHARD

The operation of the Covenant upon the evils arising out of the monopolistic control of backward areas is embodied in the principle of "mandatories" found in Article 22. The principle constitutes the "mandatory"—properly speaking, mandatary—a trustee for the League of Nations. Its application is limited to the "colonies" and "territories" which "have ceased to be under the sovereignty" of Germany and Turkey, "and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." The "well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." Their "tutelage" is "entrusted" to "advanced nations, who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility" as "mandatories on behalf of the league." It is expressly recognized that "the character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the

territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances”—a difference which is taken into account in outlining briefly the conditions which should apply to the areas formerly under Turkish rule, where the tutelage is to be provisional until “they are able to stand alone”; to areas such as Central Africa, where the beneficent principles of the Berlin Conference of 1885 are directed to be carried out, including “equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league,” that is, other than the mandatory; and to territories, such as Southwest Africa, which may be administered as “integral portions” of the mandatory state. The mandatory must render to the League an annual report of its trusteeship.

This form of trust administration appears to show a recognition by the Allies that the old rule of dividing outright in fee the territories of a defeated foe is not in conformity with their avowed principles, and in the particular cases before them would probably lead to differences among the victors. It also furnishes us with one of the best conceivable tests of the sincerity and efficacy of a league of nations. The colonial administration thus provided is not a joint administration, such as has been known in Samoa and other places, and has practically always been unsuccessful, but the management of given territory by a single power, under the direction and supervision of the League.

Interesting as the experiment seems, and useful as it may become as a solution of the complicated problem of exploiting monopolies by the great Powers in vassal states and protectorates, it will begin its precarious career under certain disadvantages, namely, the experience of history and the temptations confronting the mandatory state. We have in the past heard the powers speak of their functions as “trustees” of the backward races, and we know the extent to which the “trustee,” in violation of all legal principles, has exploited its trust and appropriated all the profits. We know that Bosnia and Herzegovina were once administered by Austria as “mandatory,” as was Egypt by Great Britain, and we know that such form of administration was merely the first step leading to ultimate annexation. We know that the

secret treaties assigned various portions of the territories conquered in this war to different powers, and that in the early days of the peace negotiations they vigorously asserted their claims. Should these powers be made the mandatories of the territories they were to receive under the secret treaties, we may suspect the purity of the "sacred trust," and wish particular assurance that trusteeship shall not merge into ownership.

Again, inasmuch as no provision has been made for the trustee's compensation, we must be on guard against its yielding to the temptation of discriminating in commercial matters in favor of its own nationals. Any such attempt would fatally compromise the plan. More particularly, the natural resources of the territory under mandatory administration should not be placed at the disposal of concessionaires of the trustee state, or of that state itself. Such grants of concessions, or governmental exploitation, would constitute merely disguised economic annexations of the territories, would defeat the altruistic purposes of the new scheme of administration, and would effect a complete reversion to the evils of monopolistic control of backward areas which now endanger the world's peaceful development. The evils of such concessions would not be tempered by the grant of general freedom of commerce and trade, for the monopolistic concessionaires would doubtless control and direct the bulk of all the really important trade. In addition, the abuse of native labor is a constant temptation and danger.

These are some of the more obvious pitfalls in the path of the disinterested trustee, against which the League must guard. The public will watch the new experiment with some misgiving, and the passing of time will not lull its watchfulness into a false sense of security. Should it prove successful, it may afford in part a possible solution of the still unsolved problem of the disposal and utilization of the vast resources of the backward areas of the world, which, as we have already seen, are the subject of attempted monopoly and of intense competitive struggle for control which sooner or later develops into armed conflict.

The solution of the problem is not easy. Yet until a

solution is found for the existing predatory exploitation, in the interests of particular nations or syndicates, of the resources of backward areas, we are not likely to make much progress toward disarmament or the dissipation of the danger of war. The often suggested solution of "internationalization" finds its difficulties in practical application. Yet the task can, I believe, be performed. Commercial statistics are sufficiently accurate to enable international industrial commissions appointed by the Powers to allocate the raw materials of the world to the manufacturing countries in proportion to their capacity to utilize them. Extortionate prices could be guarded against by some form of price-control. It will be recalled that the International Sugar Convention was inaugurated to prevent the grant of sugar bounties on the part of individual states, by causing an automatic tariff wall to be created against sugar produced under bounty. Commissions for the control of raw materials entering into general world consumption would not be impossible to create.

The indefiniteness of the suggestions here offered is an admission of the difficulty of the problem, but not of the hopelessness of a practicable solution. Possibly the era of international coöperation toward which the proposed Covenant endeavors to make a slight advance is still too far distant to present any hope of early realization of the international control of the resources of backward areas; but until that day, no agreements for the pacific settlement of international disputes will avert those economic crises which now lead to war.

BY GUILLAUME MARTIN

Mr. Wilson arrived in France in the month of December convinced that he would find adhesion to, and enthusiastic support for, his ideas. He offered to France an association for the establishment of justice in the world. That adhesion and that support failed him at least in official quarters. Why? Essentially because of the territory of the Saar, which should have been renounced at the beginning as an annexation. Mr. Wilson, in order not to rest isolated, turned to England, and there found the aid desired. France in her turn, menaced

by isolation, approached Italy. There was thus created at the Conference that constellation in which the Anglo-Saxon Powers supported by Japan have the majority, with the two Latin Powers facing them.

Italy supported the claims of France. She has on her side historical and strategic rights to put forward, and she seeks auxiliaries. Thus, French policy has been led to defend, against the unanimous sentiment of the French people, the Italian pretensions and the application of the Treaty of London. In this way France is considered as an adversary both in Italy and in Serbia. She receives the imprecations of d'Annunzio. The Italians take to Fiume the French flag, and the Serbians believe themselves betrayed and abandoned.

Even the accord between Italy and France in the bosom of the Conference is not perfect and durable. The Italians lend all their forces to the reunion of Austria with Germany. This reunion is, in fact, inevitable if they obtain the line of the Brenner that French policy tends to concede to them. To obtain the Saar, therefore, France indirectly throws the Austrians into the arms of Germany. To take a number of kilometers from Germany, she gives Germany twenty times more. And it is clear that if Italy seeks to have a common frontier with Germany, it is not with the idea of fighting the Germans.

France presents then the spectacle of a man who lets fall the substance for the shadow. To have the Saar she has renounced the support of President Wilson and her intimacy with England. She pursues a policy of which the ultimate consequences will be to throw into the arms of Germany both Austria and Italy, and prepares for herself a position of isolation in Europe.

There are to-day two systems in opposition. One believes that it is necessary to seek in annexations, in buffer-States, in strategic frontiers, all the guarantees of peace. Twenty centuries of experience are not then sufficient? The other is the principle of justice, of moderation, of collaboration.

MAN'S FIRST TRANS-ATLANTIC FLIGHT

THE AIR-MACHINE'S VICTORY OVER THE OCEAN

MAY 17, 1919

ALBERT C. READ, U. S. N.

Lieutenant Commander Albert C. Read was the captain of the first air-machine that ever flew across the ocean. In this achievement however, he was but the first of several eager aviators. Man's control over airships had so increased during the War that the moment military necessities permitted, the airmen everywhere turned their thoughts to trans-Atlantic flight. The United States Navy had already been working upon such a flight as a possible feature of sending war-supplies to Europe. Hence the naval officers were most nearly ready for the attempt. It was made under government supervision. Three airplanes specially designed for the purpose were prepared on Long Island. There had been four, but one had been dismantled to add parts to the others. These three, known by numbers as NC-1, NC-3 and NC-4, flew in leisurely fashion from Long Island to Newfoundland, landing at Trepassey Bay, the nearest point of departure for the nearest European land, the Azores Islands. The straight flight from Trepassey to Horta, the nearest port on the Azores, is 1380 miles, or, as navy men persist in talking in "nautical miles" which are somewhat longer, the navy figures give it as 1200 nautical miles. This was, of course, the main portion of the flight, as the Azores are European isles. The crossing from one end of the Azores to the other is another 175 ordinary miles; and the distance from there to the European mainland in Portugal is 920 miles. The chief flight, from Trepassey to Horta, was accomplished by the NC-4 on the night of May 16th-17th, in a little over fifteen hours, or at an average speed of over 90 miles an hour. The flight was afterward continued across the Azores and then during the daytime of May 27th from the Azores to Lisbon in Portugal. A few days later the NC-4 continued her flight from Portugal to England, landing there at Plymouth on May 31st. The other two planes were less successful. Both got lost in the thick fog which hampered the main flight from Newfoundland across the ocean. Both alighted on the stormy waters, where one sank after its crew had been rescued, and the other, the NC-3, after two days of desperate struggle with the seas reached an Azores port too damaged to fly further. She also had crossed the ocean, but in slower time and at too great a cost. The officer in chief command of this strange little squadron of three adventurers, Commander J. H. Towers, was aboard this less fortunate NC-3.

To this triumphal enterprise of mastering the ocean, the United

States Government had lent every aid. A fleet of "destroyers" had been stationed along the course of flight to save the fliers in case of disaster. The ships kept in wireless touch with the airplanes, and it was one of these that rescued the crew of the NC-1. The airplanes were of the type known as sea-planes, that is, they had the hulls of boats and could live equally on sea or air. They were designed by the Curtiss company, which afterward published the full account of the air-boats and their flight from which we partly quote.

The navy aeronauts were not long left to enjoy their triumph alone. A more daring flight had already been planned by British air-men. Toward the end of May, Captain Hawker essayed the direct flight from Newfoundland to Ireland, a distance of almost two thousand miles, using an ordinary or land airplane such as could not live on the water. He failed, his airplane fell to the ocean, and he himself was only saved by a chance steamer which was near. On the night of June 14th-15th, another British air-man, Captain Alcock, attempted the same feat, and succeeded where Hawker had failed. Alcock made the passage in less than seventeen hours.

In July followed a still more remarkable flight. A huge British "dirigible" balloon machine flew westward from Scotland direct to the American coast, carrying a crew of over thirty men and sixteen tons of fuel. The ocean has indeed been conquered from the air.

BY LIEUT. COMMANDER ALBERT C. READ, U.S.N.

THE seventeen men who flew from Trespassey May 16th had, I think, one feeling in common. They appreciated the quality of the NC boats and their equipment. A big task was to be done. These flying boats represented big preparations to meet it.

To the flyer this sensation was gratifying. It was good to feel that in scale and effectiveness the expedition of which you were a part marked an advance over previous ones. It was good to realize that between you and the ocean was a hull with which you could land and navigate on almost any sea. It was comforting to know that communication with the world was assured by a radio apparatus of unusual excellence.

The roominess of the ships also made its subtly reassuring impression. In the navigator's cockpit of the NC-4 I could lean forward at my lookout or sink back for a smoke. I could climb out of my seat and down to the passages communicating with the pilots. I could, though I never chose to, stretch out and sleep. Unconsciously, one got from such roominess a sense of the size and strength of the boat and a feeling of confidence in it.

There were difficulties in connection with the trans-Atlantic flight. There were also unusual compensations. The Trepassey-Plymouth voyage has been compared with the great voyage of 1492. Few realize how much harder the first trip from Europe to America by water was than the first trip from America to Europe by air. Columbus was proving to the world something which *he* believed. We were proving to the world something the world believed itself. Columbus was almost alone in his theories. We had the support of almost every living flyer, land or marine. Columbus had seventy days of difficulties—we had two. Columbus had a crew in mutiny at the idea of going forward—any member of any NC crew would have mutinied at the thought of turning back.

The Navy-Curtiss boats were efficient in flight. At first there was a natural doubt with respect to the motors. We hoped nothing would go wrong, but perhaps it might. As hour after hour passed, however, and the engines thundered on with never a miss or a faltering, we felt we had something behind us which would not fail. After several hours we could have run on three motors, and toward the end of the flight it would have been possible to go successfully on two.

The extension of this motor efficiency will be a point of departure for future work. Improvements such as the use of gears and the installation of separate oil systems for each engine will improve the motors we used for the trans-Atlantic flight.

From such details we should go to the consideration of higher horsepower and its distribution with the larger craft which this will mean.

Will the advance be rapid? Will there be changes as important to the world as the discovery of a hemisphere? Tomorrow must answer for itself. Those who have assisted in the first ocean flight have, I hope, furthered the cause of aéronautical education; shown the efficiency of naval flying; and aroused the public to further possibilities. As for the future, this is certain: any one who to-day declares anything impossible is apt to bark his knuckles. Personally, I have seen so many incredible things accomplished, that I am will-

ing to believe that much, which now seems impossible, will be done. I have often wondered if Jules Verne actually believed the marvels he prefigured in his tales or if it was just imagination with him. Certainly he often hit the nail on the head. Perhaps prophecies which seem amusing to-day may, like his visions, find a quick fulfillment. Perhaps we are not even prophesying up to the future, and require another Verne or Wells to shake us out of our mental slavery of the present.

BY THE CURTISS AÉROPLANE CORPORATION

From Far Rockaway, L. I., to Trepassey, Newfoundland, is a distance of 1000 nautical or 1150 statute miles.

The three NC planes had all covered this distance by May 15th, the NC-4 arriving six days after the NC-1 and the NC-3. Engine trouble had made it advisable for her to descend near Cape Cod. She alighted on the open sea, taxied for five hours, and brought herself, as efficiently as if water and not air had been her natural medium, to the Naval Air Station at Chatham. By May 10th she was ready to resume flight. Favorable weather at 11.17 a. m. on May 14th found her receiving a message from Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt: "What is your position? All keenly interested in your progress. Good luck!" and replying three minutes later, "Thank you for good wishes. NC-4 is 20 miles southwest of Seal Island, making 85 miles per hour."

Conditions at Trepassey not having been propitious for flight, the NC-1 and the NC-3 had been delayed there since their arrival on the evening of the 9th. When the NC-4 arrived she was immediately overhauled. A new engine was installed, three new propellers were attached, and a general overhauling given the seaplane. On May 16, 1919, all three boats were ready to start. They had fulfilled almost to the letter the suggestion of their April 14th orders that they take advantage of the May 14th moon.

The long, narrow harbor at Trepassey is not favorable for a flying boat take-off. Indeed, a report in the forenoon declared the waves toward the farther end too high to warrant a start. In the afternoon, however, they subsided, and a take-off was planned.

The motors of the NC-3 began to revolve. In the bright sunlight—it was six o'clock New York time—the three vessels taxied out, maneuvered a few minutes, and then, the NC-3 in the lead, shot forward for flight. They left at 6.06, 6.07, and 6.09 p. m., the NC-1 bringing up the rear.

The course was open sea. There were no rivers or railroads or coastlines to follow, no towns or lakes to identify. Only a line of sixty destroyers, clicking advice and brandishing stiff antennæ of light, would break the empty sweep of that sea.

In the late light of those first hours the water lay smooth. The deflected glow of a sunset filled the sky. Icebergs swam by under the wings of the flyers.

Let us imagine ourselves in the pilot's cockpit of the NC-4 as she takes her way eastward six hundred feet above the sea.

The fading light shows us the NC-3 ahead, rising and falling in the changing air as if on the slow, high waves of an invisible sea. All sound is merged into the roar of four motors. All about us is a sense of space,—open, illimitable, so vast that we seem shaken free forever from the earth, and winging in a new world whose laws are alien to all we have known.

Before us is the board of instruments,—clocks, compass, oil and water meters, altimeter, tachometer, inclinometer. Below us and to the rear works the wireless operator. Far back in the hull, under the wings, are the mechanicians.

The plane flies on through a growing darkness. The NC-3 disappears. We have switched on our lights, and send a message to her asking that she turn on hers. No response. Something seems to be wrong. We look back for the NC-1. Never distinct, she, too, has disappeared. We are alone, with 1185 nautical miles still to go.

The sky is now dark, utterly dark save for stars. These and the line of ocean where the stars cease give the pilot his only means of orientation. The engines labor on. Each of the twelve exhaust ports, unmuffled, sends out its jet of flame as the burnt gas is expelled. In the vastness and invisibility of the time and place those red tongues, each proclaiming the

adequacy of its cylinder eight hundred and fifty times a minute, are marvelously reassuring.

Now, ahead of us, a swift, narrow stem of flame runs up the sky, bursts into flower, and scatters luminous petals across the night. The star shell of a destroyer! In a minute gem-like lights gleam below, and an illumined figure glowing on the deck of the vessel tells her number and gives us our location. Check her off the chart!

The plane, winging her way at a thousand foot elevation, now catches on wing and motor gleams of silver thrown from the east. An edge of moon has appeared. Soon the whole disc has arisen, flooding the world with pale beauty. The pilot, visibility increased ten-fold, relaxes with a sigh. To the south, however, a close, surprising shape brings him back to tenseness with a jerk. Another plane flies close, too close for comfort. The NC-4 veers aside from the friendly but dangerous shape, and is soon alone once more. Probably she has passed the NC-3.

So we might ride until the day dawns faintly. The story for the three boats is the same. Everything has gone well. The destroyers have been checked off as regularly as railroad stations; the motors have functioned as faithfully as if they reposed on test blocks; the pilots have relieved one another every half or three quarters of an hour. Toward morning there have been sandwiches and coffee, welcome after the long, cold, nervous time of comparative inaction.

Now, however, was to come a period of difficulty.

The NC-4, says her commander's record, passed destroyer No. 15 before trouble began. Ahead of this vessel appeared what seemed an area of rain, but proved to be fog, driving in the same direction as the NC herself. Picking up destroyer No. 16 in spite of poor visibility, the NC-4 missed No. 17, and for a time flew confusedly. The boat seemed to be making a steep bank, the compass whirling aimlessly about, and visibility merging into a gray blanket of moisture. Finally, however, she emerged from the fog, and flying at 3000 feet in sunshine and blue sky, seemed to have outwinged her difficulties, though a white plateau of billowing vapor below showed that the surface of the ocean was still shrouded in

mist. Clouds and fog soon appeared above as well as below, and the NC-4 sent inquiries as to surface conditions. Destroyers 19 and 20 reported discouragingly, but No. 21 announced that there was a ten-mile visibility, and the flying boat descended. Flying low, her commander soon saw what he thought to be tide waves. Suddenly, above one of these waves appeared a dim line of rocks. They had found Flores! Delightedly they skirted the coast. "And," says Commander A. C. Read, "as we rounded a point a peaceful farmhouse came into view in the midst of cultivated fields on side hills. That scene appeared to us far more beautiful than any other ever will."

Elated, reassured, the crew thrilled with revived hopes. "We were now feeling quite cocky. . . . The engineer assured me there was sufficient oil and gas left to make Ponta Delgada. Why stop at Horta then?"

Their jubilation was brief. Dense fog closed in again. They missed Destroyer No. 23. "No Ponta Delgada for us to-day; any port would look good."

They had begun calculations as to the course necessary to find land, when a hole in the fog disclosed the northern sweep of Fayal Island. Horta, to the south, must be just around an aerial corner! The plane flew down the coast, and, pitching through rough air which "tumbled down from a mountain," made a landing in what they hoped was Horta harbor. They were soon convinced that it was not. No matter! Rising again, they caught a glimpse of the *U. S. S. Columbia*, visible between gusts of obliterating fog. In a moment they had reached her, and swept down at the end of fifteen hours and thirteen minutes to the completion of the first and most difficult stage of the great crossing.

Not so fortunate the NC-1 and the NC-3. The "Three," by dawn some distance behind Lieut. Commander A. C. Read, U. S. N., and his boat, had sighted no destroyers since No. 13.

"We passed," says Commander H. C. Richardson, one of the NC-3 pilots, "through five hours of rain squalls and fog, so thick at times as to make it impossible to see the horizon or the surface of the ocean."

After this experience, with fifteen and a half hours of

travel behind her, the NC-3 was contemplating a landing forty-five miles southeast of Fayal. The NC-1, last of the three to start, held her original position with reference to the others.

"We did not meet any trouble," says Lieut. Commander P. N. L. Bellinger, U. S. N., "until we got into the fog at 11.10 a. m. (Greenwich Mean Time) Saturday, when we were near Station 18."

Once in the fog, the NC-1 lost her bearings, and decided to alight. She did so at 1.10 p. m. She was then about 100 miles west of Flores. The position of the NC-3 almost two hours earlier has been noted. Both vessels were at the gates of the Azores. Their motors were in perfect condition. They had adequate supplies of fuel for several hours' further flight. Fog alone prevented them from reaching Fayal or even Ponta Delgada.

In landing, however, both boats found the ocean heavier than they expected. They sustained damage from high waves which made the resumption of flight impossible, even if a take-off on so heavy a sea could have been managed. The NC-1, after taxiing on the surface for five hours, was discovered shortly after 6 p. m., Greenwich time, by the *Ionia*. At 6.20 p. m. the *Ionia's* boat took off the crew. An attempt was made to tow the seaplane, but the line broke, and after a time the first Navy-Curtiss flying boat disappeared beneath the waves.

Meanwhile, the twelve-foot sea on which the NC-3 came down damaged hull, struts and control connections. It was apparent that she could not take the air again. Her radio system, though allowing her to receive messages, could not effectively send them. Though the crew fixed her position as forty-five miles southwest of Horta, the wind forbade an attempt to taxi in the known direction of Fayal. The only possible course seemed one with the wind, i.e. eastward, which, it was calculated, would carry the NC-3 to San Miguel.

Night came, and the boat was buffeted by wave and rain. One of the elevators, badly damaged, had to be cut loose. The crew took turns steering, those off duty attempting to

sleep. With morning, in the twenty-second hour of surface riding, the left wing tip was washed away. One of the crew crawled out on the right wing and clung there, deluged occasionally by waves, to keep the left wing from being submerged. Radio messages were received telling of the rescue of the NC-1 crew, but also disclosing to the NC-3 that those who were searching for her were looking west instead of south of Flores. Rescue, then, was improbable. The NC-3 must save herself.

Who can describe those next twenty-five hours? Coasting backwards over the great waves, beaten by rain, sleepless and hungry and worn, the five endured more than even they can tell. They were blown southward for a time. They lost a second elevator. The right wing float threatened to come loose.

Constantly, however, observations showed an increasingly favorable position. At length they calculated that they could make Ponta Delgada in two hours. Then land appeared,—farms, vineyards, roads, a lighthouse! Finally the *U. S. S. Harding* became visible, racing toward them. But they did not want help now.

"Stand aside!" they signaled.

They taxied over the breakwater and into the harbor. Crowds lined its shores. Whistles, sirens, guns, and voices made a bedlam of the afternoon air. Flags waved gayly; photographers in motor boats raced about; "the scene was one never to be forgotten, and our relief from the long tension, our feelings cannot be described."

So ended a fifty-two hour, 205 mile journey over the open sea. It had been made in a flying boat by officers of the American Navy.

The gloriously battered NC-3, though making port, was unable to continue the voyage to Portugal. The NC-4, arriving from Horta at Ponta Delgada on May 20th, went on alone.

"Behind him lay the gray Azores——"

The discoverer of the Americas, passing to the south of the "Western Islands" in the early autumn of 1492, could scarcely have felt more sense of world responsibility than the

commander of the flying boat which winged its way, seventy times faster than the *Maria*, in opposite direction at 10.18 Greenwich time May 27, 1919.

The weather was fair, with western winds blowing aside the mist from the wide, clean-looking streets of Ponta Delgada, and revealing rose and yellow churches, barracks and forts; with pleasant houses amid vineyards, cornfields and orchards of the hills beyond.

"A happy nation or a successful flight has no history," telegraphed Walter Duranty from Lisbon nine hours and forty minutes later.

And indeed, the NC-4 had a comparatively simple time of it. Two thousand pounds lighter than when she left Newfoundland, she succeeded in taking off from heavy swells at the harbor mouth. Though off her course sufficiently to lose Destroyer No. 3, she picked it up again and kept it the remainder of the way. Rain and mist were encountered, but did not interfere seriously with the 93 statute miles per hour which she made. The voyage was almost a triumphal parade.

There remained only one more accomplishment,—the flight to Plymouth. Here, on May 31st, a pilot of Massachusetts birth was to set foot on the shores of the harbor from which the Pilgrim fathers took ship for a new world three hundred years before. Here, after a flight of 3936 nautical or 4526 statute miles, made in a flying time of 52 hours and 31 minutes, Commander Read was to receive the congratulations of British and American officials, to clasp hands with the daring Hawker, and to receive the R.A.F. Cross. He had thoroughly demonstrated the efficiency of the NC boats, the ability of American Naval officers, and the quality of Naval organization.

It is all over now; it is becoming history! What has it done for the world?

It has given the watching nations a spectacle of imperishable gallantry. The bravery of the attempt, the persistence under hardship, the indomitable courage in peril of those involved will long echo about the first trans-oceanic flight.

THE REPUBLIC CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE PEACE CONFERENCE FORMALLY RECOGNIZES THE
MOST DEMOCRATIC OF REPUBLICS

JUNE 28, 1919

CZECHO-SLOVAK DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
ALPHONSE DE GUILLERVILLE PRESIDENT MASARYK
CHARLES PERGLER

Czecho-Slovakia is the name now formally given to the new republic occupying what were formerly the Austro-Hungarian territories of Bohemia, Moldavia and Slovakia. Its people are mainly of the ancient Bohemian or Czech race, a branch of the Slavs; and with the Czechs are associated another Slav race of close kinship, the Slovaks. The Czechs had made themselves famous during the War by their resistance to Teutonic dominance, and had formed Czech armies in many Ally lands, especially the celebrated Czech army which had marched across all Siberia to escape from the Russian Bolsheviks.

It was, however, only the Czechs who had escaped from Bohemia who could thus openly defy their Austrian oppressors. These exiles formed a committee at Paris to rouse and unite the Czechs in all countries and ultimately rescue the homeland; and gradually this committee came to be recognized by all the Ally governments as the true government of Bohemia and Slovakia. Head of this remarkable committee, builder of a country from outside, was Professor Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, a champion of freedom already famed before the War. He became the accepted President of the Czecho-Slovakia which as yet existed only in exile. Chief of Masaryk's assistants were two men of a younger generation, Edward Benès the organizer, and Milan Stefanik, a Slovak scholar and soldier. Within Bohemia itself the bold leader of so much of legalized opposition as Austria allowed was Karel (which means Charles) Kramár or Kramarcz.

With the crumbling of Austrian power in 1918 came the opportunity for the Czechs to free themselves at home; but as the movement did not culminate in a general election and the formation of a government by an assembly thus fully and formally representative, there is no exact date which can be set as ending the period of Czecho-Slovak disorganization and reconstruction, as in Poland or Germany. Czecho-Slovakia only assumes its full and positive position as an independent self-governing nation with its recognition by the Peace Treaty of June 28th.

The chief steps toward self-government had been, first, the "Declaration of Independence" published by Masaryk's government in

Paris on October 18, 1918. Then followed the actual taking away of power from the Austrian officials in Prague, Bohemia's capital. This was accomplished on October 28, 1918, under Kramar; and on the next day Prague itself declared its independence. A "National Assembly" was then hastily named by the chief Czech-Slovak organizations, not elected by the people; and this Assembly met at Prague on November 14th. It adopted a constitution, and confirmed Masaryk's presidency with Kramar as Prime Minister. The exile president reached Prague and was formally installed on December 20, 1918. Masaryk had always been a Democrat with marked Socialistic tendencies, and the government under his control promptly proceeded to make Czecho-Slovakia the most genuinely "radical" or popularistic state in eastern Europe and perhaps in the world.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK NATION

Adopted and proclaimed by the "Provisional Government" of the Czecho-Slovak State at Paris, October 18, 1918

AT this grave moment, when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Hapsburgs are promising the federalization of the Empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule we, the Czech-Slovak National Council, recognized by the allied and American Governments as the Provisional Government of the Czecho-Slovak State and nation, in complete accord with the declaration of the Czech deputies made in Prague on January 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization and, still more, autonomy, means nothing under a Hapsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our declaration of independence.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty they do not recognize and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation cannot freely develop in a Hapsburg mock federation, which is only a new form of denationalizing oppression under which we have suffered for the past 300 years. We consider freedom to be the first prerequisite for federalization, and believe that the free nations of central and eastern Europe may easily federate should they find it necessary.

We make this declaration on the basis of our historic and

natural right. We have been an independent State since the seventh century, and in 1526, as an independent State, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, we joined with Austria and Hungary in a defensive union against the Turkish danger. We have never voluntarily surrendered our rights as an independent State in this confederation. The Hapsburgs broke their compact with our nation by illegally transgressing our rights and violating the constitution of our State, which they had pledged themselves to uphold, and we therefore refuse longer to remain a part of Austria-Hungary in any form.

We claim the right of Bohemia to be reunited with her Slovak brethren of Slovakia, once a part of our national State, later torn from our national body, and fifty years ago incorporated in the Hungarian State of the Magyars, who, by their unspeakable violence and ruthless oppression of their subject races, have lost all moral and human right to rule anybody but themselves.

The world knows the history of our struggle against the Hapsburg oppression, intensified and systematized by the Austro-Hungarian dualistic compromise of 1867. This dualism is only a shameless organization of brute force and exploitation of the majority by the minority; it is a political conspiracy of the Germans and Magyars against our own as well as the other Slav and the Latin nations of the monarchy. The world knows the justice of our claims, which the Hapsburgs themselves dared not deny. Francis Joseph in the most solemn manner repeatedly recognized the sovereign rights of our nation. The Germans and Magyars opposed this recognition, and Austria-Hungary, bowing before the Pan-Germans, became a colony of Germany and, as her vanguard to the East, provoked the last Balkan conflict, as well as the present world war, which was begun by the Hapsburgs alone without the consent of the representatives of the people.

We cannot and will not continue to live under the direct or indirect rule of the violators of Belgium, France, and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Rumania, the murderers of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers of our blood, and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable

crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties. We will not remain a part of a State which has no justification for existence and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world-organization, remains only an artificial and immoral political structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Hapsburg dynasty, weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

We reject the sacrilegious assertion that the power of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin; we refuse to recognize the divine right of kings. Our nation elected the Hapsburgs to the throne of Bohemia of its own free will and by the same right deposes them. We hereby declare the Hapsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation, and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czecho-Slovak Land, which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation.

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson; the principles of liberated mankind—of the actual equality of nations—and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars 500 years ago; for these same principles, beside her allies, our nation is shedding its blood to-day in Russia, Italy, and France.

We shall outline only the main principles of the Constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Nation; the final decision as to the constitution itself falls to the legally-chosen representatives of the liberated and united people.

The Czecho-Slovak State shall be a republic. In constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of

conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition. The Church shall be separated from the State. Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage; women shall be placed on an equal footing with men, politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights. The government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principles of initiative and referendum. The standing army will be replaced by militia.

The Czecho-Slovak Nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms; the large estates will be redeemed for home colonization; patents of nobility will be abolished. Our nation will assume its part of the Austro-Hungarian pre-war public debt; the debts of this war we leave to those who incurred them.

In its foreign policy the Czecho-Slovak Nation will accept its full share of responsibility in the reorganization of eastern Europe. It accepts fully the democratic and social principle of nationality and subscribes to the doctrine that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly without secret diplomacy.

Our constitution shall provide an efficient, rational, and just government, which will exclude all special privileges and prohibit class legislation.

Democracy has defeated theocratic autocracy. Militarism is overcome—democracy is victorious; on the basis of democracy mankind will be recognized. The forces of darkness have served the victory of light—the longed-for age of humanity is dawning.

We believe in democracy—we believe in liberty—and liberty evermore.

Given in Paris, on the eighteenth of October, 1918.

Professor Thomas G. Masaryk,

Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

General Dr. Milan R. Stefanik,

Minister of National Defense.

Dr. Edward Benès,

Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior.

BY ALPHONSE DE GUILLEVILLE

Narrative of a French observer in Prague

The revolution that triumphed in Prague on October 28 and 29, 1918, had been carefully prepared for many months before the final coup, awaiting only the signal from the recognized Czech leaders in Entente countries.

Bohemia had tried for three centuries, by all possible means, to regain its liberty, lost at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. All Czech history is but the relation of the long struggle against the Germanic domination of Austria. In all the Bohemian towns the local associations and school societies were the headquarters of an ardent patriotic propaganda movement. These organizations, persecuted by the Austrian police and military authorities, became secret societies at the beginning of the war, the most famous of which assumed the name of the "Maffia," borrowed from Sicily. The conspirators, following the clever methods of the Carbonari of former times, did not know each other, save for two fellow-workers, with whom each member, respectively, carried on his work. Dr. Szarnal, the chief of the Maffia, who became the Mayor of Prague after the revolution, alone knew all of his fellow-workers.

It was this organization—to which belonged Dr. Benès; M. Stanck, the Minister of Labor in the new Government; Dr. Stefanik, who acted as Minister to Paris, and Dr. Borsky, who became Minister to Rome—which assured the Czech patriots at Prague and Vienna communication with the Czechoslovak committee at Paris.¹ Czech women, employees, and even servants, undertook perilous missions, risking life and liberty in order to serve their cause. It should be known also that there were many Czechs in all the Ministries and in all the important administrative branches of the Austrian Government, who stopped at nothing when their cause against the oppressor was called into question.

The "Maffia" had placed a Czech manservant in the home of Count Stürgkh, the President of the Austrian Council, who was assassinated by Fritz Adler. This servant each night gathered up the papers which he found on his master's

desk and took them home, where he made copies of them on a typewriter. Women placed these copies in umbrella handles and in that manner forwarded them to Switzerland or to Paris. They came back to Austria with the instructions of the Czecho-Slovak committees. The police arrested many suspected persons, among them President Masaryk's daughter and the wife of Dr. Benès, whom they imprisoned among thieves and prostitutes, but the secret was never discovered.

Thanks to this widespread organization, which was on the alert constantly, the Czechs were always informed of the most secret actions taken at the court and at the General Staff Headquarters. Even the decisions reached by Emperors William and Charles at their last meeting were learned. One of the conspirators, Dr. Rambousek, had discovered an invisible ink, and correspondence was exchanged by means of bulletin reviews, which the censorship permitted to pass, messages being written between the printed lines. In spite of all chemical reactions tried, the mysterious ink remained invisible to the police agents. Just eight days before the revolution the police forbade the sending of books and magazines outside of Austria. This did not prevent Dr. Benès from warning his friends at Prague "to prepare for the revolution."

On October 29th, when Prague was celebrating the triumph of the revolution, one of the members of the "Maffia" brought the last secret message of Dr. Benès to his colleagues: "Do not lose courage; the Czecho-Slovak Government is recognized by the Entente, with Thomas Masaryk as President."

BY PRESIDENT MASARYK

Address on entering Prague as President of the Republic, December 20, 1918

I am too moved to speak. This is the first time in four years that I have been so deeply touched. We know how much worked against us and how many difficulties we had to overcome, but we will find a friendly way out. Dr. Kramar said that you were impatiently waiting my coming. I also was impatiently awaiting the moment when I should come here to continue your work. How many sleepless nights I have passed during these four years! I knew you were op-

pressed and how hard was your task. You are all heroic and strong with a strength which showed that you were unitedly back of your leaders, though they were exiled. My heart speaks its thanks. I promise that my efforts will continue without wavering.

BY CHARLES PERGLER

Official explanation of the Czechoslovak Republic's policies by its official representative, the "Commissioner of the Czechoslovak Republic in the United States."

An indication of how thoroughly democratic the new Republic is, is found in the fact that one of the very first acts of the National Assembly was the abolition of all patents of nobility. Thus the new nation, through its duly authorized representatives, with one stroke gave earnest of its intention to do away with everything savoring of medievalism.

Of the economic and social problems one of the most important confronting the new state was that of the large landed estates. You will remember that hesitation to deal with this question was perhaps the fundamental reason why the Russian provisional government was wrecked, and why Bolshevism gained the upper hand. Czechoslovak statesmen do not propose to be caught unawares in this fashion. The estates in most cases are those held by alien nobility and the late imperial house. More often than not they came into the hands of these various clans during the carpet-bagging period of the Thirty Years' War, when Bohemia was plundered right and left by the Hapsburgs and their retainers. On April 16, 1919, the National Assembly adopted a law expropriating all large estates exceeding 150 hectares¹ of land under cultivation, or that can be cultivated, and 100 hectares of woodland. Under this law the state will take over 1,300,000 hectares of cultivated land, and 3,000,000 hectares of woodland, which will furnish livelihood to 430,000 families. In the case of estates of the imperial family, estates illegally acquired, and estates of persons who during the war had been guilty of treason against the Czechoslovak nation, no com-

¹ A hectare is a measure of area containing ten thousand square meters, or 2.471 acres.

pensation will be paid. There will be compensation to all those who have not legally forfeited their right to it, or whose possession was not based upon robbery, theft or fraud.

Immediately following the abolition of all patents of nobility and the making private citizens of various princes, dukes and counts, the National Assembly passed a law establishing the eight-hour day. According to latest advices, the National Assembly is about to pass legislation aimed at doing away with unemployment and, in so far as this may not be possible, to alleviate the condition of the unemployed. No doubt ultimately this legislation will include some sort of a scheme of insurance against unemployment, against sickness and accident, and similar features of what is known in Europe as social legislation. The establishment of workingmen's chambers is being contemplated. This should not be confused with Soviet institutions. In Europe chambers of commerce and similar institutions have a legal status, and logically, if there can be chambers of commerce, there is no reason why there should not be workingmen's chambers, which will be the legally authorized representatives and spokesmen of the workingmen, even as the chambers of commerce speak for the manufacturer and the merchant. In the meantime, the government is undertaking emergency public works to reduce the number of unemployed and it has appropriated millions of crowns for these works, particularly in the city of Prague.

Radical as certain features of this legislation may appear to some Americans, considering European standards and the advanced standing of the labor movement in particular, as well as its tremendous influence, it is simply what the times call for, if violent upheavals are to be avoided. After all, we must remember that the laws of social development were not suspended on the day we were born, and that history is also a record of transition from one order to another. The problem for the statesman and the sound thinker is to seek an orderly way, one which can be pursued with the minimum of suffering to society as a whole, and to the individuals composing it. The art of real statesmanship may be said to consist in bringing about new social formations without violence and

without bloodshed. This, so far, the Czechoslovak Republic has accomplished. It seems to have taken a leaf out of the book of Anglo-Saxon history, as exemplified both in Great Britain and the United States, the most marked feature of which is the fact that in most cases fundamental changes in government and society were accomplished peacefully.

Certainly the methods adopted by the Czechoslovaks are diametrically opposed to Bolshevism. The latter, if it has come to stand for anything, means revolutionary changes by violence, by civil war. It stands for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the Soviet system of government. There is not a trace of that in the measures I have enumerated. On the contrary, everything is being done in an orderly and legal way; by the parliamentary methods so well known to western democracies and to the United States.

Czechoslovak statesmen will be careful to prevent anything resembling militarism from striking roots in the Republic. The Czechoslovak army still standing in Siberia is very democratic, as is inevitable from its origin, having been organized voluntarily by the men themselves for the purpose of fighting for the independence of their native land, and against German, Magyar and Prussian militarism. President Masaryk himself is squarely opposed to militarism which means rule by an army clique, and the subordination of civic ideals to those of the military martinet. In a recent public speech in Prague, the President declared that the new nation must have a democratic army based upon free and voluntary discipline and convinced of its mission to defend the country against external enemies. This democratic army will be solely for purposes of defense. Naturally it will be governed by the exigencies of the international situation, and by the fact whether or not an international organization can be achieved which will do away entirely with the necessity of any armies except for purely police purposes.

Woman suffrage is already an accomplished fact in the Republic. Even now eight members of the National Assembly are women, among them Dr. Alice Masaryk, daugh-

ter of the president, well known in America. During the war, she was held by the Austrian authorities in jail for a period of nine months.

Under European constitutional practice the power of the president is usually meager indeed. It seems likely, however, that the Czecho-Slovak state will somewhat follow American examples. Thus, in accordance with a recent recommendation of the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly, the president shall have the right to name and dismiss cabinet ministers, negotiate and ratify international agreements and treaties; shall be present and preside at the meetings of the Council of Ministers, having also the right to make recommendations to the National Assembly in matters of state. This does not mean that parliamentary control will be done away with, and that the president will have anything like autocratic powers. But it does mean that he is to possess a larger freedom of movement and more initiative than a European president usually has.

In mid-Europe no state can be created without certain national minorities, and this is a troublesome problem indeed. There is going to be in the Czecho-Slovak Republic a minority of Germans, not nearly so large as the Germans themselves claim, but still a minority. This fact entitles us to all the sympathy the world can give us, especially when we bear in mind that this is a German minority. This minority is entitled to fair treatment. The Czecho-Slovak delegation at the Peace Conference, in outlining our claims, declared that the new republic will guarantee to national minorities full freedom of development and cultivation of racial individuality.

Dr. Charles Kramar, the Prime Minister of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, in a speech delivered to the National Assembly in Prague on December 20, 1918, said that complete cultural, social and economic freedom will be granted to Bohemian Germans. Dr. Kramar said: "We do not want to be oppressors. We do not want to follow the former German policy in Austria, as we have seen what it leads to. The Germans in Bohemia, with their great economic strength, are shrewd enough calculators not to have any particular

desire to be incorporated into Germany. For the Czechoslovak Republic the whole world is open. Germany, on the contrary, will be in the worse imaginable position. Even if there were no direct economic boycott, the indirect moral boycott will be far more terrible."

The Czech Social Democrats of Bohemia are certainly not jingoes, and their chief organ, the *Pravo Lidu*, on December 7, 1918, in writing on the question of the German minority, said: "The present German possession in Bohemia is not the result of natural development, but of terror and oppression. In the natural development and a free course, the German possessions in the north of Bohemia would assume quite another aspect. In spite of the terror and oppression and so-called assimilation, we can prove that German Bohemia does not exist, as this territory is everywhere mixed with the Czech population, which in many places forms, as a matter of fact, majorities. According to reliable estimates, there were in 1910 in the district of Most, in northern Bohemia, which the Germans claim, over 40,000 Czechs; in Litvinow, over 30,000; in Duchov, over 35,000; in Bilinia, about 30,000; in Teplice, over 20,000, etc. Since 1910 the development was in favor of the Czechs, so that it may be safely assumed that in many places the Czech minorities have now become majorities."

As regards the attitude of the Germans in Bohemia themselves, it is interesting to quote the German paper *Prager Tagblatt* of December 23, 1918: "Masaryk claims the integrity of Bohemia, but he wants to assure the German minorities not only equal rights, but also full rights of nationalities. This is a new idea. If a really democratic autonomy is introduced, we shall have no reason to complain."

In any event, because the Germans and Magyars oppressed the Czechoslovaks, it does not follow that the latter will oppress the former. It is a significant fact that during the whole of the nineteenth century not a single Czech statesman appeared who in any way advocated the oppression of other peoples. On the contrary, the Czechs always emphasized the fact that they would accord their German citizens complete civil rights which, of course, includes cultural rights.

It was the great Czech historian and statesman, Palacky, who said that we never had, nor ever shall have the intention of oppressing other people; that, true to our character, rejecting all desire for the revenge of past wrongs, we extend our right hand to all our neighbors who are prepared to recognize the equality of all nations without regard to their size or political power. And it was Havlicek, the Czech leader in 1848, who said that oppression never brings good results, and in time brings vengeance upon the heads of its own originators.

The new Czecho-Slovak Republic is the greatest experiment in really liberal and progressive government ever undertaken on the European Continent, and it is entitled to the sympathy and aid of the great American democracy.

THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

GERMANY SIGNS THE TERMS DICTATED BY THE ALLIES

JUNE 28, 1919

HARRY HANSEN
GEORGES CLEMENCEAU
KARL KAUTSKY

VON BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU
GABRIEL HANOTAUX
PAUL ROHRBACH

The long and patient discussions by which the Allies sought to reach among themselves agreement as to just what peace terms they would impose upon Germany and upon one another, reached on May 6th a point where all were in accord, or at least so nearly in accord that they held a final session and agreed upon the terms to be presented to Germany. On the following day this treaty was presented to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, leader of the German delegation which had been summoned to receive it. Von Brockdorff refused to agree to the treaty. Instead he and his colleagues formally stated their objections to it in a lengthy protest summarized in the noted letter of their leader, which is given herewith.

To this protest M. Clemenceau responded in similar form, summarizing the position of the Allies in the letter here given, and presenting with it the full Ally reply. In effect the Allies refused to reconsider their treaty as prepared on May 6th. The German delegation thereon returned to Germany, placed the treaty in the hands of their government, and resigned from office. Only after much domestic tumult did the German government finally decide to accept the treaty; and two new representatives were then selected to go to France and sign the hated document.

Because of this delay, the actual signing, the final ceremony, did not take place until June 28th. The place selected for it was the great palace at Versailles, and the room the very "Hall of Mirrors" in which the victorious Germans had triumphed over France in 1871. The scene is here described by an American eye-witness, a special press representative, Harry Hansen. Then, after the formal protest and response of von Brockdorff and Clemenceau, we give the views of the peace from many other angles, less bitter than von Brockdorff's, less approving than Clemenceau's. The great French historian Hanotaux speaks gravely, seriously for his countrymen. A noted Holland editor gives an estimate supposedly neutral though obviously with a Teuton tinge. A noted Teuton socialist, Karl Kautsky, tells how the radical, "new" Teutons looked on it; and the well-known Prussian militarist, Dr. Rohrbach, sums up the peace in what he believes its influence upon the United States.

BY HARRY HANSEN

THE greatest attention had been given to the staging of the culminating event in the Hall of Mirrors. It is a long and narrow room, more like a corridor than a salon. The delegates ascended the marble staircase and passed through what at one time were the apartments of Marie Antoinette to the Salon de la Paix, the Hall of Peace, whence they entered the Hall of Mirrors. At this end of the hall were the chairs for the invited guests. Then came tables for secretaries of certain delegations. Beyond that stood the long horseshoe table that ran along the mirrored side of the hall. At the middle of the table, facing the high embrasured windows, was the place for M. Clemenceau, president of the conference. To his left, in the direction of the Hall of Peace, were reserved places for the delegates of Great Britain, the British dominions, and Japan. Here the angle in the table was reached, and then came the places reserved for Germany. There followed the seats of Uruguay, Peru, Panama, Nicaragua, Liberia, Honduras, Brazil, Haiti, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Ecuador. At the right hand of the President sat the commissioners from the United States. Then came France, Italy and Belgium. Beyond the turn of the table came the places of Greece, Poland, China, Cuba, Rumania, Hedjaz, Siam, Serbia, and Czecho-Slovakia. Behind this table were tables for secretaries, and behind them, extending toward the Hall of War, came seats for the representatives of the press of the world. Inside the horseshoe table were smaller tables for secretaries, and a small one before the chairman's place was reserved for the interpreter. In the middle stood the table on which lay the treaty of peace and three other documents to be signed simultaneously with it; the protocol, to be signed also by all the delegates; the Rhine province agreement, to be signed by the five great powers and Germany; and the Polish treaty, to be signed by the five great powers, Poland, and Germany.

On the day before the ceremony Herr von Haniel sent word to the Peace Conference that the German delegates had received no formal assurance that the document they were

to sign in the Hall of Mirrors was identical with the treaty handed them on June 19th. M. Clemenceau immediately drafted a letter assuring them formally that the document was identical in all its parts, and this was carried to the Germans by M. Dutasta, general secretary of the conference.

Singularly, the places reserved for the delegation from China were not to be occupied. This was the one rift in the lute, for the Chinese commissioners, in protest against the clauses of the treaty agreeing to the transfer of the German leaseholds to Japan, decided not to sign the treaty. A month before the Chinese plenipotentiaries had made a formal request of the Peace Conference that the questions involved in the Shantung matter be not included in the treaty, but be postponed for future consideration. This request was denied. On the morning of June 28th M. Lou Tseng Tsiang, president of the Chinese delegation, asked that China be permitted to sign with the explanatory note, "Under the reservation made at the plenary session of May 6, 1919, and relative to the question of Shantung (Articles 156, 157, and 158)." He pointed out that the Swedish plenipotentiary signed the act of the Congress of Vienna with a reservation. The request was not acceded to by the conference, and when the time for signature came, the Chinese did not respond. The attitude of the Chinese delegation in this matter was consistent with its point of view that Japan should have been asked by the Peace Conference to vacate Shantung and turn all German property over to China.

There was to be only one official treaty of peace, printed on Japanese vellum, with a large margin and held together by red tape. This copy was to be placed in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, and a copy given to all the governments concerned in its signing. In order to expedite the signing, which at the best speed possible would take nearly an hour, the seals of the commissioners, which were considered necessary, had been placed on the document before the signing. These were the personal seals of the signatories, for these men signed in person and not as officials of their governments. For this reason it was not considered proper for President Wilson to use the seal that had been

selected for him, one bearing the American eagle and the words, "The President of the United States of America." President Wilson thereupon substituted a seal from a ring given him at the time of his marriage by the State of California, which bore his name in stenographic characters. Some of the commissioners did not possess personal seals, but obtained them before they were needed.

When the time came for opening the historic session, the long hall was crowded with delegates, visitors, and newspaper representatives. The commissioners had put in almost an hour passing from table to table to seek autographs of men as notable as themselves. The guests bobbed up and down in their chairs, trying to observe the great men of the conference. A score of *Gardes Municipaux* circulated among the crowd for a very good reason: they were instructed to keep a watch on the pens and ink-wells in the hall, and to prevent these articles being pilfered by souvenir-hunters.

At about 2.30 o'clock M. Clemenceau entered the room and looked about him to see that all arrangements were in perfect order. He observed a group of wounded, with their medals of valor on their breasts, in the embrasure of a window, and, walking up to them, engaged them in conversation. At 2.45 o'clock he moved up to the middle table and took the seat of the presiding officer. It was a singular fact that he sat almost immediately under the ceiling decoration that bears the legend "*Le roi gouverne par lui-même*," in other words, almost on the exact spot where William I. of Prussia stood when he was proclaimed German Emperor in 1871. President Wilson entered almost immediately after M. Clemenceau and was saluted with discreet applause. The German delegation entered by way of the Hall of Peace and slipped almost unnoticed into its seats at this end of the hall. It was led by Herr Müller, a tall man with a scrubby little mustache, wearing black, with a short black tie over his white shirt front. The Germans bowed and seated themselves.

At 3.15 o'clock M. Clemenceau rose and announced

briefly that the session was opened—"La séance est ouverte." He then spoke briefly in French as follows:

"An agreement has been reached upon the conditions of the treaty of peace between the allied and associated powers and the German empire.

"The text has been verified; the president of the conference has certified in writing that the text about to be signed conforms to the text of the 200 copies which have been sent to Messieurs the German delegates.

"The signatures about to be given constitute an irrevocable engagement to carry out loyally and faithfully in their entirety all the conditions that have been decided upon.

"I therefore have the honor of asking Messieurs the German plenipotentiaries to approach to affix their signatures to the treaty before me."

M. Clemenceau ceased and sat down, and Herr Müller rose as if to proceed to the table. He was interrupted, however, by Lieutenant Mantoux, official interpreter of the conference, who began to translate M. Clemenceau's words into German. In his first sentence, when Lieutenant Mantoux reached the words "the German empire," or, as M. Clemenceau had said in French: "*l'empire allemand*," he translated it "the German republic." M. Clemenceau promptly whispered, "Say German *Reich*," this being the term consistently used by the Germans.

M. Dutasta then led the way for five Germans—two plenipotentiaries and three secretaries—and they passed to the table, where two of them signed their names. Müller came first, and then Bell, virtually unknown men, performing the final act of abasement and submission for the German people—an act to which they had been condemned by the arrogance and pride of Prussian Junkers, German militarists, imperialists, and industrial barons, not one of whom was present when this great scene was enacted.

The delegation from the United States was the first to be called up after the Germans. President Wilson rose, and as he began his walk to the historic table, followed in order by Secretary Lansing, Colonel House, General Bliss, and Mr. White, other delegates stretched out their hands to con-

gratulate him. He came forward with a broad smile, and signed his name at the spot indicated by M. William Martin, director of the protocol. Mr. Lloyd George followed the American delegation, together with Mr. Balfour, Lord Milner, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Barnes; and when these five men had signed, the delegates from the British dominions followed, a notable array of men representing the greatest power the world has ever seen. Then came the delegation of the French Republic, in order, Messieurs Clemenceau, Pichon, Klotz, Tardieu, and Cambon, the president of the council signing his name without seating himself. Then came the delegations of Italy, Japan, and Belgium. At 3.50 o'clock all signatures had been completed, and the president of the conference announced:

"Messieurs, all the signatures have been given. The signature of the conditions of peace between the Allied and Associated powers and the German Republic is an accomplished fact. The session is adjourned."

The official protocol verifies the fact that M. Clemenceau used the word "republic" in his final statement.

Immediately afterward the great guns began to boom from the battery near the *orangerie*. The delegates rose and congratulated one another. The notables streamed out of the palace to join the crowd, which had begun shouting in wild enthusiasm with the first sound of the guns. The great fountains of the park were turned on, and the water marvels of Lenôtre began to play in the mellow sunshine throughout one of the most impressive playgrounds of the world.

The Germans were the first to leave the Hall of Mirrors, passing out alone, and immediately taking their automobiles for the hotel. A short time later M. Clemenceau invited President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George to view the fountains with him. The moment that the three men appeared before the crowd a great wave of wildly cheering humanity rushed toward them. They locked arms, and preceded by a protecting guard of soldiers and attendants attempted to gain the terrace above the fountain of Latona, in order to look over the broad expanse of the *tapis vert* to the vista of canals and woods beyond. Even here the crowd

pushed forward; men slapped them on the back in their exuberance, strangers shouted hoarse greetings into their ears, and it was a most fortunate and remarkable fact that they returned to the palace in safety. They then went to the salon of the old senate, where they met Baron Sonnino and later Baron Makino, and indulged in the beverage of the conference—tea.

After signing the treaty of peace the German plenipotentiaries gave the following statement to the United Press:

"We have signed the treaty without any mental reservation. What we have signed we will carry out. The German people will compel those in power to hold to and conform to the clauses. But we believe that the Entente in its own interest will consider it necessary to modify some articles when it becomes aware that the execution of these articles is impossible.

"We believe that the Entente will not insist upon the delivery of the Kaiser and upon that of the high officers.

"The central government has not aided any attack against Poland. Germany will make every effort to prove that she is worthy of entering the League of Nations."

For the rest of that day and night Versailles and Paris, throwing aside "*le calme et la dignité*," gave themselves up to a delirium of joy, a revel that came as the logical reaction to five years of pent-up grief and suffering.

BY COUNT VON BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU

Letter to M. Clemenceau as President of Peace Conference, delivered as introducing and summarizing the German Delegation's objections to the terms offered them and making counter-proposals.

Mr. President: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the observations of the German delegation on the draft treaty of peace. We came to Versailles in the expectation of receiving a peace proposal based on the agreed principles. We were firmly resolved to do everything in our power with a view of fulfilling the grave obligations which we had undertaken. We hoped for the peace of justice which had been promised to us. We were aghast when we read in documents the demands made upon us, the victorious violence

of our enemies. The more deeply we penetrate into the spirit of this treaty, the more convinced we become of the impossibility of carrying it out. The exactions of this treaty are more than the German people can bear.

With a view to the reestablishment of the Polish State we must renounce indisputably German territory—nearly the whole of the Province of West Prussia, which is preponderantly German; of Pomerania; Danzig, which is German to the core; we must let that ancient Hanse town be transformed into a free State under Polish suzerainty. We must agree that East Prussia shall be amputated from the body of the State, condemned to a lingering death, and robbed of its northern portion, including Memel, which is purely German. We must renounce Upper Silesia for the benefit of Poland and Czechoslovakia, although it has been in close political connection with Germany for more than 750 years, is instinct with German life, and forms the very foundation of industrial life throughout East Germany.

Preponderantly German circles (*Kreise*) must be ceded to Belgium, without sufficient guarantees that the plebiscite, which is only to take place afterward, will be independent. The purely German district of the Saar must be detached from our empire, and the way must be paved for its subsequent annexation to France, although we owe her debts in coal only, not in men.

For fifteen years Rhenish territory must be occupied, and after those fifteen years the Allies have power to refuse the restoration of the country; in the interval the Allies can take every measure to sever the economic and moral links with the mother country, and finally to misrepresent the wishes of the indigenous population.

Although the exaction of the cost of the war has been expressly renounced, yet Germany, thus cut in pieces and weakened, must declare herself ready in principle to bear all the war expenses of her enemies, which would exceed many times over the total amount of German State and private assets.

Meanwhile her enemies demand, in excess of the agreed conditions, reparation for damage suffered by their civil

population, and in this connection Germany must also go bail for her allies. The sum to be paid is to be fixed by our enemies unilaterally, and to admit of subsequent modification and increase. No limit is fixed, save the capacity of the German people for payment, determined not by their standard of life, but solely by their capacity to meet the demands of their enemies by their labor. The German people would thus be condemned to perpetual slave labor.

In spite of the exorbitant demands, the reconstruction of our economic life is at the same time rendered impossible. We must surrender our merchant fleet. We are to renounce all foreign securities. We are to hand over to our enemies our property in all German enterprises abroad, even in the countries of our allies. Even after the conclusion of peace the enemy States are to have the right of confiscating all German property. No German trader in their countries will be protected from these war measures. We must completely renounce our colonies, and not even German missionaries shall have the right to follow their calling therein. We must thus renounce the realization of all our aims in the spheres of politics, economics, and ideas.

Even in internal affairs we are to give up the right to self-determination. The international Reparation Commission receives dictatorial powers over the whole life of our people in economic and cultural matters. Its authority extends far beyond that which the empire, the German Federal Council, and the Reichstag combined ever possessed within the territory of the empire. This commission has unlimited control over the economic life of the State, of communities, and of individuals. Further, the entire educational and sanitary system depends on it. It can keep the whole German people in mental thraldom. In order to increase the payments due, by the thrall, the commission can hamper measures for the social protection of the German worker.

In other spheres also Germany's sovereignty is abolished. Her chief waterways are subjected to international administration; she must construct in her territory such canals and such railways as her enemies wish; she must agree to treaties the contents of which are unknown to her, to be concluded

by her enemies with the new States on the east, even when they concern her own functions. The German people, if excluded from the League of Nations, to which is intrusted all work of common interest to the world.

Thus must a whole people sign the decree for its own proscription, nay, its own death sentence.

Germany knows that she must make sacrifices in order to attain peace. Germany knows that she has, by agreement, undertaken to make these sacrifices, and will go in this matter to the utmost limits of her capacity.

Counter-proposals

1. Germany offers to proceed with her own disarmament in advance of all other peoples, in order to show that she will help to usher in the new era of the peace of justice. She gives up universal compulsory service and reduces her army to 100,000 men, except as regards temporary measures. She even renounces the warships which her enemies are still willing to leave in her hands. She stipulates, however, that she shall be admitted forthwith as a State with equal rights into the League of Nations. She stipulates that a genuine League of Nations shall come into being, embracing all peoples of good-will, even her enemies of to-day. The League must be inspired by a feeling of responsibility toward mankind and have at its disposal a power to enforce its will sufficiently strong and trusty to protect the frontiers of its members.

2. In territorial questions Germany takes up her position unreservedly on the ground of the Wilson program. She renounces her sovereign right in Alsace-Lorraine, but wishes a free plebiscite to take place there. She gives up the greater part of the province of Posen, the district uncontestedly Polish in population, together with the capital. She is prepared to grant to Poland, under international guarantees, free and secure access to the sea by ceding free ports at Danzig, Königsberg, and Memel, by an agreement regulating the navigation of the Vistula and by special railway conventions. Germany is prepared to insure the supply of coal for the economic needs of France, especially from the

Saar region, until such time as the French mines are once more in working order. The preponderantly Danish districts of Schleswig will be given up to Denmark on the basis of a plebiscite. Germany demands that the right of self-determination shall also be respected where the interests of the Germans in Austria and Bohemia are concerned.

She is ready to subject all her colonies to administration by the community of the League of Nations, if she is recognized as its mandatory.

3. Germany is prepared to make payments incumbent on her in accordance with the agreed program of peace up to a maximum sum of 100,000,000,000 gold marks, 20,000,-000,000 by May 1, 1926, and the balance (80,000,000,000) in annual payments, without interest. These payments shall in principle be equal to a fixed percentage of the German Imperial and State revenues. The annual payment shall approximate to the former peace budget. For the first ten years the annual payments shall not exceed 1,000,000,000 gold marks a year. The German taxpayer shall not be less heavily burdened than the taxpayer of the most heavily burdened State among those represented on the Reparation Commission.

Germany presumes in this connection that she will not have to make any territorial sacrifices beyond those mentioned above and that she will recover her freedom of economic movement at home and abroad.

4. Germany is prepared to devote her entire economic strength to the service of the reconstruction. She wishes to coöperate effectively in the reconstruction of the devastated regions of Belgium and Northern France. To make good the loss in production of the destroyed mines of Northern France, up to 20,000,000 tons of coal will be delivered annually for the first five years, and up to 80,000,000 tons for the next five years. Germany will facilitate further deliveries of coal to France, Belgium, Italy, and Luxemburg.

Germany is, moreover, prepared to make considerable deliveries of benzol, coal tar, and sulphate of ammonia, as well as dyestuffs and medicines.

5. Finally, Germany offers to put her entire merchant

tonnage into a pool of the world's shipping, to place at the disposal of her enemies a part of her freight space as part payment of reparation and to build for them for a series of years in German yards an amount of tonnage exceeding their demands.

6. In order to replace the river boats destroyed in Belgium and Northern France, Germany offers river craft from her own resources.

7. Germany thinks that she sees an appropriate method for the prompt fulfillment of her obligation to make reparations conceding participation in coal mines to insure deliveries of coal.

8. Germany, in accordance with the desires of the workers of the whole world, wishes to insure to them free and equal rights. She wishes to insure to them in the Treaty of Peace the right to take their own decisive part in the settlement of social policy and social protection.

9. The German delegation again makes its demand for a neutral inquiry into the responsibility for the war and culpable acts in conduct. An impartial commission should have the right to investigate on its own responsibility the archives of all the belligerent countries and all the persons who took an important part in the war.

Nothing short of confidence that the question of guilt will be examined dispassionately can leave the peoples lately at war with each other in the proper frame of mind for the formation of the League of Nations.

These are only the most important among the proposals which we have to make. As regards other great sacrifices, and also as regards the details, the delegation refers to the accompanying memorandum and the annex thereto.

The time allowed us for the preparation of this memorandum was so short that it was impossible to treat all the questions exhaustively. A fruitful and illuminating negotiation could only take place by means of oral discussion. This treaty of peace is to be the greatest achievement of its kind in all history. There is no precedent for the conduct of such comprehensive negotiations by an exchange of written notes only. The feeling of the peoples who have made such im-

mense sacrifices makes them demand that their fate should be decided by an open, unreserved exchange of ideas on the principle: "Quite open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly in the public view."

Germany is to put her signature to the treaty laid before her and to carry it out. Even in her need, justice for her is too sacred a thing to allow her to stoop to achieve conditions which she cannot undertake to carry out. Treaties of peace signed by the great powers have, it is true, in the history of the last decades, again and again proclaimed the right of the stronger. But each of these treaties of peace has been a factor in originating and prolonging the world war. Whenever in this war the victor has spoken to the vanquished, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, his words were but the seeds of future discord. The lofty aims which our adversaries first set before themselves in their conduct of the war, the new era of an assured peace of justice, demand a treaty instinct with a different spirit. Only the coöperation of all nations, a coöperation of hands and spirits, can build up a durable peace. We are under no delusions regarding the strength of the hatred and bitterness which this war has engendered, and yet the forces which are at work for a union of mankind are stronger now than ever they were before. The historic task of the Peace Conference of Versailles is to bring about this union.

Accept, Mr. President, the expression of my distinguished consideration.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

BY GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

Letter to the President of the German Delegation covering the Reply
of the Allied and Associated Powers

Sir:

The Allied and Associated Powers have given the most earnest consideration to the observations of the German Delegation on the conditions of peace. The reply protests against the peace, both on the ground that it conflicts with the terms upon which the armistice of November 11, 1918,

was signed, and that it is a peace of violence and not of justice. The protest of the German Delegation shows that they utterly fail to understand the position in which Germany stands to-day. They seem to think that Germany has only to "make sacrifices in order to attain peace," as if this were but the end of some mere struggle for territory and power.

I

The Allied and Associated Powers therefore feel it necessary to begin their reply by a clear statement of the judgment passed upon the war by practically the whole of civilized mankind.

In the view of the Allied and Associated Powers the war which began on August 1, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and the freedom of peoples that any nation, calling itself civilized, has ever consciously committed. For many years the rulers of Germany, true to the Prussian tradition, strove for a position of dominance in Europe. They were not satisfied with that growing prosperity and influence to which Germany was entitled, and which all other nations were willing to accord her, in the society of free and equal peoples. They required that they should be able to dictate and tyrannize to a subservient Europe, as they dictated and tyrannized over a subservient Germany.

In order to attain their ends they used every channel in their power through which to educate their own subjects in the doctrine that might was right in international affairs. They never ceased to expand German armaments by land and sea, and to propagate the falsehood that this was necessary because Germany's neighbors were jealous of her prosperity and power. They sought to sow hostility and suspicion instead of friendship between nations. They developed a system of espionage and intrigue which enabled them to stir up internal rebellion and unrest and even to make secret offensive preparations within the territory of their neighbors whereby they might, when the moment came, strike them down with greater certainty and ease. They kept Europe in a ferment by threats of violence, and when they found that their neighbors were resolved to resist their arrogant

will they determined to assist their predominance in Europe by force.

As soon as their preparations were complete, they encouraged a subservient ally to declare war against Serbia at forty-eight hours' notice, knowing full well that a conflict involving the control of the Balkans could not be localized and almost certainly meant a general war. In order to make doubly sure, they refused every attempt at conciliation and conference until it was too late, and the world war was inevitable for which they had plotted, and for which alone among the nations they were fully equipped and prepared.

Germany's responsibility, however, is not confined to having planned and started the war. She is no less responsible for the savage and inhuman manner in which it was conducted.

Though Germany was herself a guarantor of Belgium, the ruler of Germany violated, after a solemn promise to respect it, the neutrality of this unoffending people. Not content with this, they deliberately carried out a series of promiscuous shootings and burnings with the sole object of terrifying the inhabitants into submission by the very frightfulness of their action. They were the first to use poisonous gas, notwithstanding the appalling suffering it entailed. They began the bombing and long distance shelling of towns for no military object, but solely for the purpose of reducing the morale of their opponents by striking at their women and children. They commenced the submarine campaign with its piratical challenge to international law, and its destruction of great numbers of innocent passengers and sailors, in mid-ocean, far from succor, at the mercy of the winds and the waves, and the yet more ruthless submarine crews. They drove thousands of men and women and children with brutal savagery into slavery in foreign lands. They allowed barbarities to be practiced against their prisoners of war from which the most uncivilized peoples would have recoiled.

The conduct of Germany is almost unexampled in human history. The terrible responsibility which lies at her doors can be seen in the fact that not less than seven million

dead lie buried in Europe, while more than twenty million others carry upon them the evidence of wounds and sufferings, because Germany saw fit to gratify her lust for tyranny by resort to war.

The Allied and Associated Powers believe that they will be false to those who have given their all to save the freedom of the world if they consent to treat this war on any other basis than as a crime against humanity and right.

This attitude of the Allied and Associated Powers was made perfectly clear to Germany during the war by their principal statesmen. It was defined by President Wilson in his speech of April 6, 1918, and explicitly and categorically accepted by the German people as a principle governing the peace :

"Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it or Dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us : Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

It was set forth clearly in a speech of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, of December 14, 1917:

"There is no security in any land without certainty of punishment. There is no protection for life, property, or money in a state where the criminal is more powerful than the law. The law of nations is no exception, and until it has been vindicated, the peace of the world will always be at the mercy of any nation whose professors have assiduously taught it to believe that no crime is wrong so long as it leads to the aggrandizement and enrichment of the country to which they owe allegiance. There have been

many times in the history of the world criminal states. We are dealing with one of them now. And there will always be criminal states until the reward of international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive."

It was made clear also in an address of M. Clemenceau of September, 1918:

"What do they (the French soldiers) want? What do we ourselves want? To fight, to fight victoriously and unceasingly, until the hour when the enemy shall understand that no compromise is possible between such crime and 'justice.' . . . We only seek peace, and we wish to make it just and permanent in order that future generations may be saved from the abominations of the past."

Similarly, Signor Orlando, speaking on October 3, 1918, declared:

"We shall obtain peace when our enemies recognize that humanity has the right and duty to safeguard itself against a continuation of such causes as have brought about this terrible slaughter; and that the blood of millions of men calls not for vengeance but for the realization of those high ideals for which it has been so generously shed. Nobody thinks of employing—even by way of legitimate retaliation—methods of brutal violence or of overbearing domination or of suffocation of the freedom of any people—methods and policies which made the whole world rise against the Central Powers. But nobody will contend that the moral order can be restored simply because he who fails in his iniquitous endeavor declares that he has renounced his aim. Questions intimately affecting the peaceful life of nations, once raised, must obtain the solution which justice requires."

Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German Delegation asks for and say that Germany had been promised. Justice is what Germany shall have. But it must be justice for all. There must be justice for the dead and wounded and for those who have been orphaned and bereaved that Europe might be freed from Prussian despot-

ism. There must be justice for the peoples who now stagger under war debts which exceed £30,000,000,000 that liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and lands, ships and property German savagery has spoliated and destroyed.

That is why the Allied and Associated Powers have insisted as a cardinal feature of the treaty that Germany must undertake to make reparation to the very uttermost of her power; for reparation for wrongs inflicted is of the essence of justice. That is why they insist that those individuals who are most clearly responsible for German aggression and for those acts of barbarism and inhumanity which have disgraced the German conduct of the war, must be handed over to a justice which has not been meted out to them at home. That, too, is why Germany must submit for a few years to certain special disabilities and arrangements. Germany has ruined the industries, the mines, and the machinery of neighboring countries, not during battle, but with the deliberate and calculated purpose of enabling her industries to seize their markets before their industries could recover from the devastation thus wantonly inflicted upon them. Germany has despoiled her neighbors of everything she could make use of or carry away. Germany has destroyed the shipping of all nations on the high seas, where there was no chance of rescue for their passengers and crews. It is only justice that restitution should be made and that these wronged peoples should be safeguarded for a time from the competition of a nation whose industries are intact and have even been fortified by machinery stolen from occupied territories. If these things are hardships for Germany, they are hardships which Germany has brought upon herself. Somebody must suffer for the consequences of the war. Is it to be Germany, or only the peoples she has wronged?

Not to do justice to all concerned would only leave the world open to fresh calamities. If the German people themselves, or any other nation, are to be deterred from following the footsteps of Prussia, if mankind is to be lifted out of the belief that war for selfish ends is legitimate to any state, if the old era is to be left behind and nations as well as indi-

viduals are to be brought beneath the reign of law, even if there is to be early reconciliation and appeasement, it will be because those responsible for concluding the war have had the courage to see that justice is not deflected for the sake of convenient peace.

It is said that the German Revolution ought to make a difference and that the German people are not responsible for the policy of the rulers whom they have thrown from power.

The Allied and Associated Powers recognize and welcome the change. It represents a great hope for peace, and for a new European order in the future. But it cannot affect the settlement of the war itself. The German Revolution was stayed until the German armies had been defeated in the field, and all hope of profiting by the war of conquest had vanished. Throughout the war, as before the war, the German people and their representatives supported the war, voted the credits, subscribed to the war loans, obeyed every order, however savage, of their government. They shared the responsibility for the policy of their government, for at any moment, had they willed it, they could have reversed it. Had that policy succeeded they would have acclaimed it with the same enthusiasm with which they welcomed the outbreak of the war. They cannot now pretend, having changed their rulers after the war was lost, that it is justice that they should escape the consequences of their deeds.

II

The Allied and Associated Powers therefore believe that the peace they have proposed is fundamentally a peace of justice. They are no less certain that it is a peace of right fulfilling the terms agreed upon at the time of the armistice. There can be no doubt as to the intentions of the Allied and Associated Powers to base the settlement of Europe on the principle of freeing oppressed peoples, and re-drawing national boundaries as far as possible in accordance with the will of the peoples concerned, while giving to each facilities for living an independent national and economic life. These intentions were made clear, not only in President Wilson's address to Congress of January 8, 1918, but in "the principles of settlement

enunciated in his subsequent addresses" which were the agreed basis of the peace. A memorandum on this point is attached to this letter.

Accordingly the Allied and Associated Powers have provided for the reconstitution of Poland as an independent state with "free and secure access to the sea." All "territories inhabited by indubitably Polish populations" have been accorded to Poland. All territory inhabited by German majorities, save for a few isolated towns and for colonies established on land recently forcibly expropriated and situated in the midst of indubitably Polish territory, has been left to Germany. Wherever the will of the people is in doubt a plebiscite has been provided for. The town of Danzig is to be constituted a free city, so that the inhabitants will be autonomous and not come under Polish rule and will form no part of the Polish state. Poland will be given certain economic rights in Danzig and the city itself has been severed from Germany because in no other way was it possible to provide for that "free and secure access to the sea" which Germany has promised to concede.

The German counter-proposals entirely conflict with the agreed basis of peace. They provide that great majorities of indisputably Polish population shall be kept under German rule.

They deny secure access to the sea to a nation of over twenty million people, whose nationals are in the majority all the way to the coast, in order to maintain territorial connection between East and West Prussia, whose trade has always been mainly sea-borne. They cannot, therefore, be accepted by the Allied and Associated Powers. At the same time, in certain cases the German note has established a case for rectification, which will be made; and in view of the contention that Upper Silesia, though inhabited by a two to one majority of Poles (1,250,000 to 650,000, 1910 German census), wishes to remain a part of Germany, they are willing that the question of whether Upper Silesia should form part of Germany or of Poland should be determined by the vote of the inhabitants themselves.

In regard to the Saar basin, the régime proposed by the Allied and Associated Powers is to continue for fifteen years. This arrangement they considered necessary both to the general scheme for reparation, and in order that France may have immediate and certain compensation for the wanton destruction of her northern coal mines. The district has been transferred not to French sovereignty, but to the control of the League of Nations. This method has the double advantage that it involves no annexation, while it gives possession of the coal field to France and maintains the economic unity of the district, so important to the interests of the inhabitants. At the end of fifteen years the mixed population, who in the meanwhile will have had control of its own local affairs under the governing supervision of the League of Nations, will have complete freedom to decide whether they wish union with Germany, union with France, or the continuance of the régime established by the treaty.

As to the territories which it is proposed to transfer from Germany to Denmark and Belgium, some of these were forcibly seized by Prussia, and in every case the transfer will only take place as the result of a decision of the inhabitants themselves, taken under conditions which will insure complete freedom to vote.

Finally, the Allied and Associated Powers are satisfied that the native inhabitants of the German colonies are strongly opposed to being again brought under Germany's sway, and the record of German rule, the traditions of the German Government and the use to which these colonies were put as bases from which to prey upon the commerce of the world, make it impossible for the Allied and Associated Powers to return them to Germany, or to entrust to her the responsibility for the training and education of their inhabitants.

For these reasons, the Allied and Associated Powers are satisfied that their territorial proposals are in accord both with the agreed basis of peace and are necessary to the future peace of Europe. They are therefore not prepared to modify them except as indicated.

III

Arising out of the territorial settlement are the proposals in regard to international control of rivers. It is clearly in accord with the agreed basis of the peace and the established public law of Europe that inland states should have secure access to the sea along navigable rivers flowing through their territory. The Allied and Associated Powers believe that the arrangements which they propose are vital to the free life of the new inland states that are being established and that they are no derogation from the rights of the other riparian states. If viewed according to the discredited doctrine that every state is engaged in a desperate struggle for ascendancy over its neighbors, no doubt such arrangement may be an impediment to the artificial strangling of a rival. But if it be the ideal that nations are to coöperate in the ways of commerce and peace, it is natural and right. The provisions for the presence of representatives of non-riparian states on these river commissions is security that the general interest will be considered. In the application of these principles, some modifications have however been made in the original proposals.

IV

The German Delegation appear to have seriously misinterpreted the economic and financial conditions. There is no intention on the part of the Allied and Associated Powers to strangle Germany or to prevent her from taking her proper place in international trade and commerce. Provided that she abides by the treaty of peace and provided also that she abandons those aggressive and exclusive traditions which have been apparent no less in her business than in her political methods, the Allied and Associated Powers intend that Germany shall have fair treatment in the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods, subject to those temporary provisions already mentioned in the interests of the nations ravaged and weakened by German action. It is their desire that the passions engendered by the war should die as soon as possible, and that all nations should share in the

prosperity which comes from the honest supply of their mutual needs. They wish that Germany shall enjoy this prosperity like the rest, though much of the fruit of it must necessarily go, for many years to come, in making reparation to her neighbors for the damage she has done. In order to make their intention clear, a number of modifications have been made in the financial and economic clauses of the treaty. But the principles upon which the treaty is drawn must stand.

V

The German Delegation have greatly misinterpreted the reparation proposals of the treaty.

These proposals confine the amount payable by Germany to what is clearly justifiable under the terms of armistice in respect of damage caused to the civilian population of the Allies by German aggression. They do not provide for that interference in the internal life of Germany by the Reparation Commission which is alleged.

They are designed to make the payment of that reparation which Germany must pay as easy and convenient to both parties as possible and they will be interpreted in that sense. The Allied and Associated Powers therefore are not prepared to modify them.

But they recognize with the German Delegation the advantage of arriving as soon as possible at the fixed and definite sum which shall be payable by Germany and accepted by the Allies. It is not possible to fix this sum to-day, for the extent of damage and the cost of repair have not yet been ascertained. They are therefore willing to accord to Germany all necessary and reasonable facilities to enable her to survey the devastated and damaged regions, and to make proposals thereafter within four months of the signing of the treaty for a settlement of the claims under each of the categories of damage for which she is liable. If, within the following two months, an agreement can be reached, the exact liability of Germany will have been ascertained. If agreement has not been reached by then, the arrangement as provided in the treaty will be executed.

VI

The Allied and Associated Powers have given careful consideration to the request of the German Delegation that Germany should at once be admitted to the League of Nations. They find themselves unable to accede to this request.

The German Revolution was postponed to the last moments of the war and there is as yet no guarantee that it represents a permanent change.

In the present temper of international feeling, it is impossible to expect the free nations of the world to sit down immediately in equal association with those by whom they have been so grievously wronged. To attempt this too soon would delay and not hasten that process of appeasement which all desire.

But the Allied and Associated Powers believe that if the German people prove by their acts that they intend to fulfill the conditions of the peace, and that they have abandoned those aggressive and estranging policies which caused the war, and now have become a people with whom it is possible to live in neighborly good fellowship, the memories of the past years will speedily fade, and it will be possible at an early date to complete the League of Nations by the admission of Germany thereto. It is their earnest hope that this may be the case. They believe that the prospects of the world depend upon the close and friendly coöperation of all nations in adjusting international questions and promoting the welfare and progress of mankind. But the early entry of Germany into the League must depend principally upon the action of the German people themselves.

VII

In the course of its discussion of their economic terms, and elsewhere, the German Delegation have repeated their denunciation of the blockade instituted by the Allied and Associated Powers.

Blockade is and always has been a legal and recognized method of war, and its operation has from time to time been adapted to changes in international communications.

If the Allied and Associated Powers have imposed upon Germany a blockade of exceptional severity, which throughout they have consistently sought to conform to the principles of international law, it is because of the criminal character of the war initiated by Germany and of the barbarous methods adopted by her in prosecuting it.

The Allied and Associated Powers have not attempted to make a specific answer to all the assertions made in the German note. The fact that some observations have been passed over in silence does not indicate, however, that they are either admitted or open to discussion.

VIII

In conclusion the Allied and Associated Powers must make it clear that this letter and the memorandum attached constitute their last word.

They have examined the German observations and counter-proposals with earnest attention and care. They have, in consequence, made important practical concessions, but in its principles, they stand by the treaty.

They believe that it is not only a just settlement of the great war, but that it provides the basis upon which the peoples of Europe can live together in friendship and equality. At the same time it creates the machinery for the peaceful adjustment of all international problems by discussion and consent, whereby the settlement of 1919 itself can be modified from time to time to suit new facts and new conditions as they arise.

It is frankly not based upon a general condonation of the events of 1914-1918. It would not be a peace of justice if it were. But it represents a sincere and deliberate attempt to establish "that reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind" which was the agreed basis of the peace.

As such the treaty in its present form must be accepted or rejected.

The Allied and Associated Powers therefore require a declaration from the German Delegation within five days

from the date of this communication that they are prepared to sign the treaty as it stands to-day.

If they declare within this period that they are prepared to sign the treaty as it stands, arrangements will be made for the immediate signature of the peace at Versailles.

In default of such a declaration, this communication constitutes the notification provided for in Article II. of the Convention of February 16, 1919, prolonging the armistice which was signed on November 11, 1918, and has already been prolonged by the agreement of December 13, 1918, and January 16, 1919. The said armistice will then terminate, and the Allied and Associated Powers will take such steps as they think needful to enforce their terms.

French text signed: CLEMENCEAU.

BY GABRIEL HANOTAUX

Peace at last! Peace so tragically disturbed, and so tragically restored, peace which covers all things, whose very features are hidden by the splendor of its appearance,—Peace!

We are not in a mood to discuss peace; it is for us to accept it. It is here at last at the end of five years. Only a year ago, Paris was living in the alternate agonies of high explosives and black *communiqués*. The enemy was at the gates. And now,—he is at Versailles. M. de Brockdorff-Rantzau allows his tranquil cigarette to go out and listens. He receives the heavy volume, a weight to which he had not looked forward. And, accepting, he could find nothing better to babble than the vain protestations of a crushed militarism. It might have been more worth while for him, in the manner of our Premier, to have cut through this loquacity with one trenchant word.

To allow it to be said that France, Belgium, and the other Powers which have struck down conquering Germany are guilty of crimes similar to those of the Central Empires, is to permit the growth, in a solemn hour, of a false and dangerous legend. The future will read that. Now and as ever, historical fiction is being written.

Let us first consider that word in which the thought of

the leader of the German delegation is resumed—"The peace which you are imposing on us," he has said, "is a peace of hatred." And he adds that an Allied imperialism is merely dictating its conditions to a German imperialism.

Let us now limit our discussion to France. M. de Brockdorff-Rantzaus allegation is cruel and unjust.

France, attacked, defended herself; she never was guilty of the least imperialism or of the spirit of conquest, either at the moment in which she went to war, or that in which she closed it with victory; she has claimed and obtained nothing more than her due.

The proof of this is inscribed on every page of the enormous volume. All in all, what has the Treaty given to France? Simply Alsace-Lorraine, and the coal which was stolen from her!

In spite of the dangerous "lists" which fill the columns of the newspapers, the "reparation" amounts to just that. The fair-minded will admit that we have not reckoned in either the horses, cattle, or equipages pillaged from us; or Morocco and the Congo, pick-pocketed from our too feeble diplomacy. As for the dead, the wounds, the atrocious miseries of war in our invaded regions, the immense debt under which we are staggering—all these have been summarily passed over. Does this indicate a peace of hatred? Of what, then, should a peace of abnegation, moderation, and patience be made?

The situation is clear. Our enemy lies at our feet. The ogre who sharpened his knife on our doorstone lies full length upon the ground. He will need years in which to retemper his bloody soul in the gall of his rancor. Who can say but this soul may really be transformed? May we not some day discover a Germany with whom Europe can live? Is this a hope, an illusion, a lure? We have faith in this trial. Therein lies the true sense of the Treaty.

The fourteen articles of President Wilson, to which our conquered enemies proclaim their allegiance with high fervor, promise us a new world in which humanitarian faith shall reign. We adhere to it. Is it wise that on the day which beholds the raising of this improvised shelter a lasting "ha-

tred' should be sealed in its foundations? This Brockdorff-Rantzaу is scarcely a wise diplomat; he would have done well to swallow his venom before entering the Trianon Palace.

Under the authority of President Wilson, the Powers,—and France in particular,—far from dictating a peace of conquest, resign themselves to an arbiter's peace. How shall France rescue herself from the disaster in which she is half entombed? That is what the future and France's faith in herself must show us. In any case, it is neither by the new resources which may come to her from the ransom of the enemy nor by the colonies which she will gain; nor by the labor of those soldiers who, having destroyed all, will now return, having rebuilt nothing, nor by the recovery of that French capital which the nation's laborious frugality poured forth upon the world.

France will set to work anew, once again she will begin to save, she will be, nevertheless, perhaps for centuries the prisoner of this terrible catastrophe. It is not for them to approach us saying that the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, the return of children to a mother's house, is a work of hatred, a work of imperialism. Such is not the character of this peace.

France is as noble and disinterested in victory as she was unconquerable in the struggle. Her character remains faithful to itself, since nothing has been awarded her beyond the bounds of her legal right, and she has asked nothing, insisted on nothing. She even added no conditions to that famous Pact of London, which all begged her to hold fast to for the sake of the world. She accepts peace as she accepted war. She accepts it with joy, with enthusiasm, with confidence: it is *Peace!*

May this breath of generosity spread throughout the world; may all others do as we have done. The great patriot who will sign the Treaty in the name of France is not a business man. Soon an octogenarian, he sees the life of men and even the life of peoples with the solemn detachment of a chief through whom destiny is accomplished.

In a certain sense, destiny acts within him and beyond

him. Gathering together into his mind and conscience all the various facets of the European problem, he has thought it wise to hold us where we are. And there we shall stay, ready to receive from his hands what they shall bring us.

France rejoices. England rejoices, and stands by, discreet; America, who finds herself already too deeply entangled in universal conflicts and is seeking a way to withdraw, voices her full and vigorous assent. There are but a few timid objections from our comrade in the struggle, Belgium, from our friend and sister, Italy, from Russia, and from those eastern lands impatiently waiting for a solution.

One great person alone is absent from Versailles, and will probably be surprised that she has not been called to a place—Europe. For, by a singular contrast which will become more marked with the advance of time, the Treaty submitted deals with everything except the fate of the continent which has undergone war and the Prussian's ambition.

Europe remains even as Bismarck made it; this, to my way of thinking, is the grave lacuna in the world task now submitted to us. One seeks the constitution of a future Europe among those numberless articles and clauses, and seeks in vain. One precaution, one alone, has been taken; German-Austria has been forbidden to join Germany. There lay the good road, it has been opened, but not followed.

Again, there will have to be a real decision made in the matter of whether peoples are or are not free to dispose of themselves. If the thesis of pan-Germanism is to be accepted; upon what integral principle is the exclusion of Austria to be based? And if the thesis is not to be accepted, why incline before it when the matter in hand concerns one of those violent annexations, torn, a hundred years ago, by the force of Prussia, from the body of European liberties?

One of our friends well situated for knowing all that is taking place in the Palatinate and the Rhine country wrote to me yesterday, "I am living here and I am reading all the time. I talk with people belonging to all ranks and I have been able to gather and examine many documents. Here we are literally walking on the souvenirs of France. The mental attitude of the inhabitants of the Palatinate has, for

four years, been turning in a very marked fashion toward France. An immense future is opening here in front of us. What deception the entirely negative decisions of the Conference are bringing to us! . . ." People who see things from close at hand see them thus. Why should we have closed and padlocked the gates of the future to such deliverances?

Since the veto has been pronounced in relation to Austria, why should we not have disentangled that new combination of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemburg, and Baden, a country of recent allegiance which only half a century ago represented that admirable hope which enchanted our fathers; the hope of a non-Prussian Germany, the true Germany? Why did they suppose these states to hold either this or that sentiment? Why did they not consult them?

Under our eyes, under the eyes of our soldiers who are maintaining guard along the Rhine, Prussian militarism has just entered Munich in triumph, and is crushing out under its hobnailed boots the attempt at separation lately manifested there. Bavaria is being treated as was Belgium, and we are looking on.

Therefore, there is no longer a Europe, there are peoples new-born, rich in a future, singing their first songs and ignorant of the "difficulty of being," Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, greater Serbia,—but Russia has disappeared. No one can tell what she is or what she will be. Upon this devastated continent there remains to-day, to oppose that inexpiable "hatred" of which the rhetorician of Versailles has spoken, only France.

France, it is true, can count upon her strong friends from beyond the channel and beyond the sea; they will fly to her aid. At the least peril, the Society of Nations will warn them. They will hasten hither, obedient to their oath, to their fidelity of heart, and to their Treaty pledges. The sea belongs to them. They need fear no longer the assault either of the battleships or the submarines of Wilhelm II. They will be at hand and at once. Let us count upon them, but, also, let us count upon ourselves.

The peace is good in itself; our enemy has been laid

low, we breathe freely. To every day its task. To-day, let us sign this peace. To-morrow, by our courage, our perseverance, and our proved abnegation, we shall improve it, we shall develop it. Europe, if she only finds here foundations, has the whole future in which to build. Only let us take care that the rôles of the play are not reversed; the sowers of hatred are not the conquerors, they are the conquered.

BY THE ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD

An editorial in a prominent Holland paper

The peace conditions imposed upon Germany are so hard, so humiliating, that even those who have the smallest expectation of a "peace of justice" are bound to be deeply disappointed. Has Germany actually deserved such a "peace"? Everybody knows how we condemned the crimes committed against humanity by Germany. Everybody knows what we thought of the invasion of Belgium, the submarine war, the Zeppelin raids. Our opinion on the lust of power and conquest of Germany is well known. But a condemnation of war-time actions must not amount to a lasting condemnation of a people. In spite of all they have done, the German people is a great and noble nation. The question is not whether the Germans have been led by an intellectual group to their destruction, or whether they are accomplices in the misdeeds of their leaders—the question is, whether it is to the interest of mankind, whether there is any sense in punishing a people in such a way as the Entente governments wish to chastise Germany. The Entente evidently desires the complete annihilation of Germany. Not only will the whole commercial fleet be confiscated, but the shipbuilding yards will be obliged to work for the foreigner for some time to come. Whole tracts of Germany will be entirely deprived of their liberty; they will be under a committee of foreign domination, without adequate representation. The financial burden is so heavy that it is no exaggeration to say that Germany is reduced to economic bondage. The Germans will have to work hard and incessantly for foreign masters, without any chance of personal gain,

or any prospect of regaining liberty or economic independence. This "peace" offered to Germany may differ in form from the one imposed upon conquered nations by the old Romans, but certainly not in essence. This peace is a mockery of President Wilson's principles. Trusting to these, Germany accepted peace. That confidence has been betrayed in such a manner that we regard the present happenings as a deep humiliation, not only to all governments and nations concerned in this peace offer, but to all humanity. These conditions will never give peace. All Germans must feel that they wish to shake off the heavy yoke imposed by the cajoling Entente, and we fear very much that that opportunity will soon present itself. For has not the Entente recognized in the proposed so-called "League of Nations" the evident right to conquer and possess countries for economic and imperialistic purposes? Fettered and enslaved, Germany will always remain a menace to Europe.

The voice and opinion of neutrals have carried very little weight in this war. But, however small their influence and however dangerous the rancorous caprice of the Entente powers may be to neutrals, it is our conviction and our duty to protest as forcibly as possible against these peace conditions. We understand the bitter feelings of the Entente countries. But that does not make these peace conditions less wrong, less dangerous to world civilization, or any less an outrage against Germany and against mankind.

BY KARL KAUTSKY

Universal disarmament has ceased to be a dream of the pacifists, and has become an economic necessity. International disarmament, however, is impossible without international institutions for controlling or deciding controversies between peoples and governments, which otherwise would resort to weapons to solve their differences. We do, indeed, anticipate that the coming peace will settle important disputes between the leading nations for a considerable time to come. But there will be innumerable questions of controversy between the small governments just being erected in eastern Europe after peace has been made. It is vain

to hope that the peace treaty will succeed in establishing things upon a final basis in that region that will be satisfactory to all the parties affected. Mistakes in drawing boundaries are possible. Changes of attitude may occur as soon as the existing excitement and hostility have disappeared. These conditions will create a continued effort for revising the peace treaty, and result either in perpetual war or perpetual danger of war, such as we had in the Balkans for some time before the present world catastrophe. The only way to avoid this will be to create some institution authorized to pass judicially upon such controversies, and supported by the community of nations, so that no individual government will even consider an attempt to resist, by force of arms, its superior authority.

But if we have universal disarmament and international arbitration, then national frontiers will lose their strategic importance. Consequently, those governments born out of the present war, whose frontiers are not favorable from a strategic point of view, are the most interested in having universal disarmament and international arbitration.

The world-war has also dealt a vital blow to the previous tariff system. It has produced an extraordinary shortage of food and raw material, and an abnormal increase in prices of every manufacturing country. At the same time it has accentuated in a high degree the conflict of interest between the farming population and the city working classes, which already was manifesting itself before the war. Finally, it has—at least in Eastern Europe—started a contest to overthrow the still feudalistic tenures of the great landholders.

The latter conflict is as real and present in Bohemia as in Poland and Hungary. To be sure, the Bohemian nobleman is of a different sort from the Hungarian. He has not fought for centuries for masters and existence, but has withdrawn from political activity since the battle of White Mountain, and contented himself with a quiet and retired life of ease and luxury. He is the peer of the Hungarian nobility in avarice and extortion, but not in talent and energy. His power will be broken more easily than that of his Hungarian fellow.

The characteristic features of the period following the war will everywhere be the overthrow of Junker authority, the steady growth of opposition on the part of the city population to agrarian demands, and an unendurable increase of prices. It is hardly likely, under these conditions, that we shall see protective duties on agricultural products restored.

But when the tariff on agricultural products disappears, the justification for a tariff on manufactures disappears. For a long period, the latter has not been a measure to stimulate manufacturing, but to insure manufacturers a monopoly market. Other methods of encouraging manufacturers in industrially backward countries may be employed with equal confidence, and at the same time be free from the objection of increasing the prices of products. Indeed they may even lower the price of products. This latter consideration will be a determining one during the era of poverty and want that is to follow the present war.

To the extent that tariffs lose their old importance and that freedom of trade becomes possible, individual States will cease to attach importance to particular economic territories, and the principles of national self-determination will be correspondingly unaffected by considerations of international commerce.

We must oppose firmly the plan of substituting tariff unions for general free trade. The latter was merely a way of grouping nations together in order to build up trade barriers between the groups. Every such group is instinctively hostile to every other, and the system bears within it the germ of economic warfare. That germ is incompatible with the ideals of universal disarmament and permanent peace.

A Balkan federation, or a Danube federation, or a Middle Europe or Russian federation, or whatever other such scheme may be devised, will indicate no progress, but rather an obstacle, so far as these leagues are tariff unions, likely to prevent a general federation of the world. If economic necessities force nations to unite for purposes of general disarmament and international arbitration, economic necessity will rapidly extend this community of action to other fields of

political and business life. We are dealing with forces whose initial manifestations are only a beginning of wider effects. But the possibility of internationalizing colonies, and open seas and canals, has been suggested. The demand that many waterways be internationalized and the freedom of the sea assured arises from a recognition that unrestricted participation in international trade, unrestricted use of international channels of communication, are questions of life and death for every modern nation. This is why it is so important now for a government to control its own access to the sea.

To be sure, in this age of railways the sea is far from being the only international route of traffic. Railways have already become more important for many nations. It may be as detrimental to the interests of a country to be dependent on the railway policies of a neighbor as to be cut off from the sea.

It was a great and significant ideal of modern German statesmen to control a railway connection extending from Hamburg to Bagdad. The only bad thing about it was that trade routes are also military routes, and that the route we planned would serve our purpose of world mastery as much as it would our desire for world commerce. But that is no reason for dropping the idea entirely; for we can deprive it of all its associations of military objects and plans of domination.

The Balkan war and the world-war, which have separated Turkey, Austria, and Russia into a series of smaller States, have not improved the conditions for standardizing international railway traffic, but have impaired them. When we started to build the Bagdad railway, communication between Hamburg and Bagdad would have been subject to the control of but three governments, Germany, Austria, and Turkey. From now on, goods passing between Germany and Bagdad will have to pass through Czech, German-Austrian, Hungarian, Serb, Bulgarian, and Turkish jurisdictions in order to arrive at an Arabian destination.

Unless this is to remain a serious step backward, it is urgently important that this particular line, and every railway line of international importance, shall have an interna-

tional administration, although it need not be international property. Every country engaged in international trade has equal interest in such a plan, particularly those nations which are cut off from the sea. On the other hand, such an arrangement, combined with universal free trade, would deprive governments of every principal motive for seeking access to the sea, and countries like Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia would feel assured of their economic future without such access.

Other new countries, whose national enthusiasm is not at high flood, and that most zealously proclaim and define their national autonomy, have a principal interest in seeing that the international institutions that will inevitably be created by the peace treaty, are given the greatest possible power and the widest possible jurisdiction.

Those countries are also mainly interested in having the international Socialist proletariat exercise the most powerful possible influence in the course of world events.

We must not undervalue the international institutions which are to be called to life,—as do many radical Socialists,—because these institutions will be established in the first place by bourgeois governments. Such Socialists forget the dominant rôle in historical evolution that economic demands play hand in hand with the plans of governments. This dominant influence is what, in our opinion, will force the creation of international institutions that will not be the product of political desires. Such institutions are among the conditions precedent to the final victory of the working class, predicted by Engels as an absolutely certain result of the world-war, which he foresaw.

Consequently, we do not underestimate the value of these institutions. But there is no doubt but what some bourgeois governments will take this unaccustomed course with hesitation, while others will continue to strive for directed ways of attaining their selfish objects. One of the first and most important duties of the international proletariat, which is just reviving, will consist in stimulating the laggard governments and preventing these new institutions from being employed for political purposes.

The more successful we are in thus making permanently secure the self-determination of all nations, and in preventing national wars, which engage the attention and disperse the energy of the proletariat, the more readily we shall be able to unite our forces for the great final struggle against the capitalist system of production, which the conclusion of peace makes the next item upon the program of every nation.

BY DR. PAUL ROHRBACH

Two schools of thought have come into conflict in the American Senate and in public discussion in the United States. The nominal issue is whether that country shall ratify or reject the Treaty of Versailles. Party politics, presidential ambitions, and material interests inevitably play a part in this discussion. Both schools of thought are hostile to Germany. The American people were induced to go to war by being convinced of the necessity of a crusade against German imperialism. That sentiment still persists. Furthermore, English and French propagandists have not relaxed for a moment the efforts they made during the war to propagate distrust and hatred of Germany by biased reports. We have but one recourse against this—persistent labor to make the world understand how much of the responsibility for the war, how much of the inhumanity during the war, and how much of the selfishness that inspired that conflict, also stand to the account of the rulers of the Entente. Thanks to the skill of the political leaders of our opponents, the Americans comprehend these things less than any other nation. German propaganda may well be devoted now to reestablishing a fair balance of judgment among the American people. This is neglected because our government fails to comprehend the part psychology plays in foreign policy. We might say that it understands less than the old government did—if that would not be incredible. The better informed among us will have to resign ourselves to this fatal misunderstanding. It is impossible as yet to foresee a time when the opinion of the world will refuse to be biased longer in our disfavor.

One of the principal opponents of ratification, Senator

Knox, has criticized the irrational and unjust provisions of the treaty. At the same time he felt it necessary, in view of public sentiment and probably of his own feelings, to assure his hearers that he had no sympathy for the Germans, and that he assumed as a matter of course that their misdeeds must be punished. He did not refer to the inhumanity of killing 800,000 non-combatants in Germany by a famine blockade, and of crushing the spirit and ambition of the survivors by forcing upon them years of undernourishment, and of the moral degeneration which that produces. We are, therefore, called upon to emphasize this distinctly. He and his associates, however, have something else to say, something very important for America and indirectly for the rest of the world and for ourselves. These gentlemen are not willing to have their country become more deeply involved in the affairs of Europe and Asia. The only exception they consider are those parts of Eastern Asia which face the Pacific.

If America ratifies the Treaty, thereby engaging to assist in its enforcement, every one of the innumerable difficulties that will inevitably arise in so doing will force America to interest itself in the affairs of Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, the Balkans, and the Orient. Their country will have to form an opinion and to take sides and to make decisions in connection with each one of these countries. The result will be inevitable domestic dissension and internal conflict. The government of a people as powerful as that of the United States, with the self-confidence, the national sensitiveness, and the love of sensation, which the Americans possess, will be unable to confine themselves, if they are members of a league of nations, to merely academic and theoretical declarations concerning the innumerable complications which will flow from the Versailles Treaty. If America speaks, it will be with authority and self-assertion, and it will have to take its stand in accordance with its sympathies and interests.

The party opposed to ratification maintains that the interests of the United States are in the Western Hemisphere, and that if they extend beyond that limit, it is only in the

region of the Pacific. America had a moral mission in Europe which it could not escape. It was America's duty to assist the western democracies to overthrow Germany, because they alone were too weak to throttle the monster. Now that the object is attained, America should withdraw. Beneath this sentiment lies also the thought that every European nation and government retains certain traces of backwardness, the outcome of irrational and misguided historical tendencies, and that the ideals of America can be realized only in the New World.

The question arises whether the Americans will be able to avoid actively participating in the political supervision of the reorganized world, no matter how sincerely they desire to do so. There are two conditions which make their withdrawal difficult: the first is that the war has made them too powerful to pursue such a policy; the second is that American interests in Eastern Asia, which are of supreme importance, inevitably are inter-related with broader international questions. In addition we have the influence of America's commercial interests, which the war has greatly widened. Of these three considerations the most important is the first. Even if we assume that the anti-European party wins, for the time being, that will not prevent the constant references of European controversies to America's judgment, and the repeated efforts of the contestants to win America's support. The Americans have sacrificed money and blood for Europe. The President has voiced an ideal of extraordinary importance for the orderly development of a world in which Europe still remains the most highly civilized, and relatively the most densely populated portion. He promulgated that ideal in the name of America's people, and the nation has gained from his pronouncements definite opinions of the condition of the old governments east of the Atlantic. Besides the conviction that they have the power to make their ideals prevail, the Americans realize at heart that it is impossible to withdraw again into their old political seclusion by a mere effort of will, and that they will not be able to maintain that seclusion in the future for both psychological and practical reasons. This would be impossible. A nation

that actually has supreme power, and is conscious that it is a preponderant force in the world, cannot artificially isolate itself in its own hemisphere.

A majority of the Americans now begin to feel keenly that they have been placed in an awkward position because their President has not measured up, either morally or intellectually, to the demands made upon him. Wilson promulgated a lofty ideal. He did it with a great expenditure of pathos and in the pose of a world-judge, as though it depended upon him personally to direct the nations into the path they should pursue. We are justified in saying that hardly ever in modern times has the head of a government stood so high in the world's esteem and temporarily possessed such vast influence as Wilson.

The whole world looked up to him and felt that its fate hung from his decisions. But this man, elevated to such a height, revealed himself as a surprisingly small soul in the hour of decision. The conception of a League of Nations must have resided in his head as a cloudy dream, never theoretically or practically workable. If Wilson had been capable of conceiving the league as a political actuality, he would have seen beforehand that such an institution, in the form he proposed it, would encounter insuperable opposition from his own allies. Only a dreamer—a political simpleton—could imagine for a moment that the rulers of the Entente would consent to anything but a predatory peace. No league of nations was compatible with this. If Wilson was really determined to have a league, he should have insisted in the very beginning upon sufficient guarantees from England, Italy, and France. As soon as Clemenceau and Lloyd George had succeeded in completely disarming Germany by the conditions of the armistice, Wilson's League of Nations was dead and buried. The world saw its author dandling a mere inflated rubber image of the League, in place of the real thing. He no longer imposed his ideals on any one, least of all upon his allies. Thereupon, he preferred to accept the mere mockery of his plan, instead of frankly acknowledging his defeat and withdrawing with dignity from the unsuccessful contest.

A feeling is spreading among the Americans, in spite of the fact that they are more easily misled concerning European and international affairs than most other nations, that the true story of what occurred at Versailles has not been told them. They have a suspicion that the President did not win much glory for their country there. But Wilson is a shrewd enough political tactician to perceive that the Americans will find it difficult not to enter the League under one condition or another. If ratification is actually to be rejected, Wilson's opponents must find a skillful political formula in order to escape the charge that the defeat of the President has dishonored the American nation as a whole.

Whether such a formula is discovered or not, America's participation in world policies cannot be recalled. Naturally the English would find it unpleasant for the United States to accept a mandate for Constantinople, or Asia Minor, or even Armenia; for the English want to be unhindered there. They skillfully arranged that the Indian and Mohammedan princes should rally to the support of the Sultan as soon as his capital of Constantinople was seriously threatened with American control. England wants to remain sole master in that quarter of the world, where it is now so skillfully establishing itself. It is seeking to elbow the French out of Syria by supporting a native president under the pretext of "Syrian self-determination."

China and Japan are much more important for America than these regions in Western Asia. It is a vital necessity for the United States to keep the Japanese from carrying out the economic and military organizations of China. On the other hand, it is a vital necessity for Japan to do just this thing. The Japanese are determined to be absolute masters of the Japan Sea. They intend to rule its continental as well as its island shores. They propose to occupy a position upon the mainland that will make it impossible for China to escape from their grasp. Their domination over Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, the important highways to China from the north, is the first step in this program. Japan has already accomplished this. But a wide stretch of coast lies between these regions and the iron deposits at

the head of the lower reaches of the Yangtze-kiang, opposite Hankow. These deposits are essential to the Japanese, because their country does not now possess large enough iron resources to become a great power. Unless it has assured control of Chinese ore, Japan's policy is a failure, because in case of war it would be unable to maintain its army and navy.

England and America are united in a wish to keep Japan within limits and to prevent its annexing China's iron. If Japan succeeds, its remoteness from England and America will make it a dangerous military opponent, because it will be difficult to attack. Without iron it will be a negligible factor. Japan must hold Shantung, if it is to control the Yangtze mines; therefore, the promise made to China, that its territorial integrity would be respected as compensation for its declaration of war against Germany, was very agreeable both to the English and the Americans. But Wilson let himself be intimidated by the Japanese at Paris, just as he was intimidated by the English and French military party, and so he yielded Shantung to Japan. Shantung goes to Japan in violation of the solemn promise to China. But since the Chinese are more fortunate than Germany and the fourteen points, in having the hostility of powerful circles in both America and England toward Japan on their side, their prospects are better than our own.

This incident is merely one illustration of how difficult it will be for Americans to avoid intervening in things outside of America. There is the further consideration, that if a controversy should ever arise between America and England, Japan would be most assiduously courted by both parties. The effect of such an estrangement upon India, and even upon Europe, is obvious. This possibility in turn would arouse bitter domestic conflicts in America itself.

THE PEACE TREATY

So much discussion of the Peace Treaty as has here been given may well lead the reader to wish to examine its details for himself. In its entirety it fills a book, 80,000 words; but much of this is technical detail. Hence the following summary is all that any one would wish to read, except upon some point where personal interests were involved. This summary may be accepted as official, as it was presented in the United States Congress and spread upon the records of that body, under date of June 12, 1919.

The "High Contracting Parties" agreeing to this Treaty were not the nations themselves, with the exception of Germany. The ruler of each of the Allies spoke for his nation in so far as each had authority, and this had afterward to be ratified by the nation. Except in the case of the United States and China this ratification was promptly made. Hence the actual parties to the Treaty and their representatives who signed it for them, as stated in its own preamble, were as follows, except that the Chinese representatives refused their signatures.

SIGNERS OF THE TREATY

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, by: The Honorable WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority; the Honorable ROBERT LANSING, Secretary of State; The Honorable HENRY WHITE, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris; The Honorable EDWARD M. HOUSE; GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA, by: The Right Honorable DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, M. P., First Lord of His Treasury and Prime Minister; The Right Honorable ANDREW BONAR LAW, M. P., His Lord Privy Seal; The Right Honorable VISCOUNT MILNER, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., His Secretary of State for the Colonies; The Right Honorable AR-

THUR JAMES BALFOUR, O. M., M. P., His Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; The Right Honorable GEORGE NICOLL BARNES, M. P., Minister without portfolio; and for the *DOMINION of CANADA*, by: The Honorable CHARLES JOSEPH DOHERTY, Minister of Justice; The Honorable ARTHUR LEWIS SIFTON, Minister of Customs; for the *COMMONWEALTH of AUSTRALIA*, by: The Right Honorable WILLIAM MORRIS HUGHES, Attorney General and Prime Minister; The Right Honorable SIR JOSEPH COOK, G. C. M. G., Minister for the Navy; for the *UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA*, by: General the Right Honorable LOUIS BOTHA, Minister of Native Affairs and Prime Minister; Lieutenant-General the Right Honorable JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS, K. C., Minister of Defense; for the *DOMINION of NEW ZEALAND*, by: The Right Honorable WILLIAM FERGUSON MASSEY, Minister of Labor and Prime Minister; for *INDIA*, by: The Right Honorable EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGU, M. P., His Secretary of State for India; Major-General His Highness Maharaja SIR GANGA SINGH BAHADUR, Maharaja of BIKANER, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., G. C. V. O., K. C. B., A. D. C.;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by: MR. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, President of the Council, Minister of War; MR. STEPHEN PICHON, Minister for Foreign Affairs; MR. LOUIS-LUCIEN KLOTZ, Minister of Finance; MR. ANDRÉ TARDIEU, Commissary General for Franco-American Military Affairs; MR. JULES CAMBON, Ambassador of France;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY, by: BARON S. SONNINO, Deputy; MARQUIS G. IMPERIALI, Senator, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Italy at London; MR. S. CRESPI, Deputy;¹

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, by: MARQUIS SAIONZI, formerly President of the Council of Ministers; BARON MAKINO, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Diplomatic Council; VISCOUNT

¹ These Italians aided in preparing the final draft of the Treaty but were not the signers. A sudden change of ministers brought a new Italian delegation headed by M. Tittoni.

CHINDA, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at London; MR. K. MATSUI, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris; MR. H. IJUIN, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Rome;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, by: MR. PAUL HYMANS, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister of State; MR. JULES VAN DEN HEUVEL, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Minister of State; MR. EMILE VANDERVELDE, Minister of Justice, Minister of State;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA, by: MR. ISMAEL MONTES, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL, by: MR. JOAO PANDIÁ CALOGERAS, Deputy, formerly Minister of Finance; MR. RAUL FERNANDES, Deputy; MR. RODRIGIO OCTAVIO DE L. MENEZES, Professor of International Law of Rio de Janeiro;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, by: MR. LOU TSENG-TSIANG, Minister for Foreign Affairs; MR. CHENGTING THOMAS WANG, formerly Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, by: MR. ANTONIO SÁNCHEZ DE BUSTAMANTE, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Havana, President of the Cuban Society of International Law;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR, by: MR. ENRIQUE DORN Y DE ALSUA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Ecuador at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES, by: MR. ELEUTHERIOS K. VENISELOS, President of the Council of Ministers; MR. NICOLAS POLITIS, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA, by: MR. JOAQUIN MENDEZ, formerly Minister of State for Public Works and Public Instruction,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Guatemala at Washington, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on special mission at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI, by: MR. TERTULLIEN GUILBAUD, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Haiti at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ, by: MR. RUSTEM HAIDAR; MR. ABDUL HADI AOUNI;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS, by: DR. POLICARPO BONILLA, on special mission to Washington, formerly President of the Republic of Honduras, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, by: The Honorable CHARLES DUNBAR BURGESS KING, Secretary of State;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA, by: MR. SALVADOR CHAMORRO, President of the Chamber of Deputies;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, by: MR. ANTONIO BURGOS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Panama at Madrid;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PERU, by: MR. CARLOS G. CANDAMO, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC, by: MR. IGNACE J. PADEREWSKI, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs; MR. ROMAN DMOWSKI, President of the Polish National Committee;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC, by: DR. AFFONSO AUGUSTO DA COSTA, formerly President of the Council of Ministers; DR. AUGUSTO LUIZ VIEIRA SOARES, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF RUMANIA, by: MR. ION I. C. BRATIANO, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs; GENERAL CONSTANTIN COANDA, Corps Commander, A. D. C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE

CROATS, AND THE SLOVENES, by: MR. NICOLAS P. PASHITCH, formerly President of the Council of Ministers; MR. ANTE TRUMBIC, Minister for Foreign Affairs; MR. MILENKO VESNITCH, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF SIAM, by: His Highness PRINCE CHAROON, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of Siam at Paris; His Serene Highness PRINCE TRAIDOS PRABANDHU, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC, by: MR. KAREL KRAMAR, President of the Council of Ministers; MR. EDUARD BENES, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY, by: MR. JUAN ANTONIO BUERO, Minister for Foreign Affairs, formerly Minister of Industry;

GERMANY, by: MR. HERMANN MÜLLER, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Empire; DR. BELL, Minister of the Empire; acting in the name of the German Empire and of each and every component State.

SUMMARY OF THE PEACE TREATY

The treaty of peace between the twenty-seven allied and associated powers on the one hand and Germany on the other is the longest treaty ever drawn. It totals about 80,000 words, divided into fifteen main sections, and represents the combined product of over a thousand experts working continually through a series of commissions for the three and a half months following January 18, 1919. The treaty is printed in parallel pages of English and French, which are recognized as having equal validity. It does not deal with questions affecting Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, except in so far as binding Germany to accept any agreement reached with those former allies.

Following the preamble and deposition of powers comes the Covenant of the League of Nations as the first section of the treaty. The frontiers of Germany in Europe are defined

in the second section; European political clauses given in the third; and extra-European political clauses in the fourth. Next are the military, naval, and air terms as the fifth section, followed by a section on prisoners of war and military graves, and a seventh on responsibilities. Reparations, financial terms, and economic terms are covered in sections 8 to 10. Then come the aeronautic section, ports, waterways, and railways section, the labor covenant, the section on guarantees, and the final clauses.

Germany, by the terms of the treaty, restores Alsace-Lorraine to France, accepts the internationalization of the Saar Basin temporarily and of Danzig permanently, agrees to territorial changes toward Belgium and Denmark and in East Prussia, cedes most of Upper Silesia to Poland, and renounces all territorial and political rights outside Europe, as to her own or her allies' territories, and especially as to Morocco, Egypt, Siam, Liberia, and Shantung. She also recognizes the total independence of German-Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

Germany's army is reduced to 100,000 men, including officers; conscription within her territories is abolished; all forts 50 kilometers east of the Rhine razed; and all importation, exportation, and nearly all production of war material stopped. Allied occupation of parts of Germany will continue till reparation is made, but will be reduced at the end of each of three five-year periods if Germany is fulfilling her obligations. Any violation by Germany of the conditions as to the zone 50 kilometers east of the Rhine will be regarded as an act of war.

The German Navy is reduced to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, and 12 torpedo boats, without submarines and a personnel of not over 15,000. All other vessels must be surrendered or destroyed. Germany is forbidden to build forts controlling the Baltic, must demolish Heligoland, open the Kiel Canal to all nations, and surrender her 14 submarine cables. She may have no military or naval air forces, except 100 unarmed seaplanes until October 1st to detect mines, and may manufacture no aviation material for six months.

Germany accepts full responsibility for all damages caused

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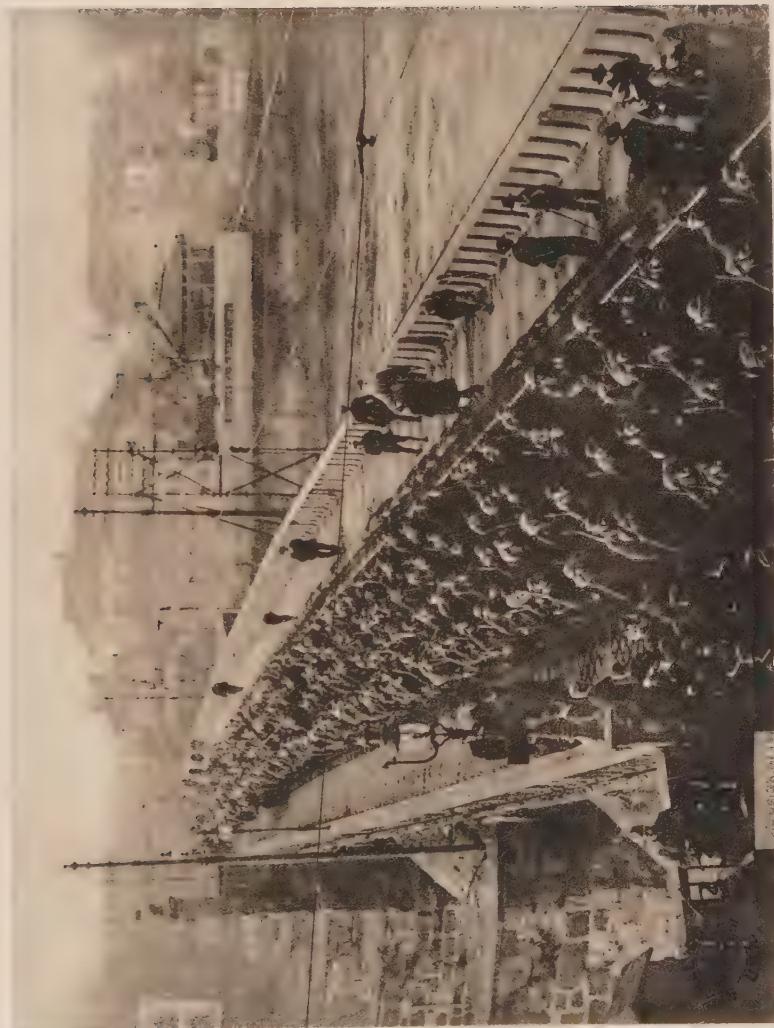
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to allied and associated Governments and nationals, and agrees specifically to reimburse all civilian damages, beginning with an initial payment of 20,000,000,000 marks, subsequent payments to be secured by bonds to be issued at the discretion of the Reparation Commission. Germany is to pay shipping damage on a ton-for-ton basis by cession of a large part of her merchant, coasting, and river fleets, and by new construction; and to devote her economic resources to the rebuilding of the devastated regions.

She agrees to return to the 1914 most-favored-nation tariffs, without discrimination of any sort; to allow allied and associated nationals freedom of transit through her territories, and to accept highly detailed provisions as to pre-war debts, unfair competition, internationalization of railroads and rivers, and other economic and financial clauses. She also agrees to the trial of the ex-Kaiser by an international high court for a supreme offense against international morality, and of other nationals for violation of the laws and customs of war, Holland to be asked to extradite the former and Germany being responsible for delivering the latter.

The League of Nations is accepted by the allied and associated powers as operative upon ratification of the treaty and by Germany in principle but without membership. Similarly an international labor body is brought into being, with a permanent office and an annual convention. A great number of international bodies of different kinds and for different purposes are created, some under the League of Nations, some to execute the peace treaty. Among the former is the commission to govern the Saar Basin until a plebiscite is held fifteen years hence; the internationalized free city of Danzig guaranteed by the league and under a high commissioner appointed by it; and various commissions for plebiscites in Malmedy, Schleswig, and East Prussia. Among those to carry out the peace treaty are the reparations, military, naval, air, financial, and economic commissions, the international high court and military tribunals to fix responsibilities, and a series of bodies for the control of international rivers.

Certain problems are left for solution between the allied

and associated powers, notably details of the disposition of the German fleet and cables, the former German colonies, and the values paid in reparation. Certain other problems, such as the laws of the air and the opium, arms, and liquor traffic, are either agreed to in detail or set for early international action.

PREAMBLE

The preamble names as parties of the one part the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, described as the five allied and associated powers, and Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay, who, with the five above, are described as the allied and associated powers, and on the other part, Germany.

It states that: "Bearing in mind that on the request of the then Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on November 11, 1918, by the five allied and associated powers, in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and whereas the allied and associated powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on August 1, 1914, and against France on August 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable peace," the plenipotentiaries, "having communicated their full powers found in good and due form have agreed as follows:

"From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate. From that moment and subject to the provisions of this treaty official relations with Germany, and with each of the German States, will be resumed by the allied and associated powers."

SECTION I—LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Section I. of the peace treaty, which places upon the league

many specific in addition to its general duties. It may question Germany at any time for a violation of the neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world's peace. It will appoint three of the five members of the Saar Commission, oversee its régime, and carry out the plebiscite. It will appoint the high commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city, arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland, and be the final authority on any alienating of the independence of German-Austria. It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies, and act as a final court in part of the plebiscites on the Belgian-German frontier, and in disputes as to the Kiel Canal, and decide certain of the economic and financial problems. An international conference on labor is to be held in October, 1919, under its direction, and another on the international control of ports, waterways, and railways is foreshadowed.

Membership

The members of the league will be the signatories of the covenant and other States invited to accede, who must lodge a declaration of accession without reservation within two months. Any State, Dominion, or colony may be admitted, provided its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly. A State may withdraw upon giving two years' notice, if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

Secretariat

A permanent secretariat will be established at the seat of the league, which will be at Geneva.

Assembly

The assembly will consist of representatives of the members of the league, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by States. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

Council

The council will consist of representatives of the five great allied powers, together with representatives of four other members selected by the assembly from time to time; it may coöpt additional States, and will meet at least once a year. Members not represented will be invited to send a representative when questions affecting their interests are discussed. Voting will be by States. Each State will have one vote and not more than one representative. Decisions taken by the assembly and council must be unanimous, except in regard to procedure, and in certain cases specified in the covenant and in the treaty, where decisions will be by a majority.

Armaments

The council will formulate plans for a reduction of armaments for consideration and adoption. These plans will be revised every 10 years. Once they are adopted, no member must exceed the armaments fixed without the concurrence of the council. All members will exchange full information as to armaments and programs, and a permanent commission will advise the council on military and naval questions.

Prevention of War

Upon any war, or threat of war, the council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry, and not to resort to war until three months after the award. Members agree to carry out an arbitral award, and not to go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with it; if a member fails to carry out the award, the council will propose the necessary measures. The council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions. Members who do not submit their case to arbitration must accept the jurisdiction of the council or the assembly. If the council, less the parties

to the dispute, is unanimously agreed upon the rights of it, the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with its recommendations. In this case a recommendation by the assembly concurred in by all its members represented on the council and a simple majority of the rest, less the parties to the dispute, will have the force of a unanimous recommendation by the council. In either case, if the necessary agreement cannot be secured, the members reserve the right to take such action as may be necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. Members resorting to war in disregard of the covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members. The council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the league collectively for the protection of the covenants, and will afford facilities to members coöperating in this enterprise.

Validity of Treaties

All treaties or international engagements concluded after the institution of the league will be registered with the secretariat and published. The assembly may from time to time advise members to reconsider treaties which have become inapplicable or involve danger to peace. The covenant abrogates all obligations between members inconsistent with its terms, but nothing in it shall affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

The Mandatory System

The tutelage of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be intrusted to advanced nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The covenant recognizes three different stages of development requiring different kinds of mandates:

(a) Communities like those belonging to the Turkish Empire, which can be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to advice and assistance from a mandatory in whose selection they should be allowed to vote.

(b) Communities like those of Central Africa, to be administered by the mandatory under conditions generally approved by the league, where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members; certain abuses, such as trade in slaves, arms, and liquor, will be prohibited, and the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

(c) Other communities, such as Southwest Africa and the South Pacific Islands, best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory.

In every case the mandatory will render an annual report, and the degree of its authority will be defined.

General International Provisions

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the league will in general endeavor, through the international organization established by the labor convention, to secure and maintain fair conditions of labor for men, women, and children in their own countries and other countries, and undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; they will intrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements for the suppression of traffic in women and children, etc., and the control of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control is necessary; they will make provision for freedom of communications and transit and equitable treatment for commerce of all members of the league, with special reference to the necessities of regions devastated during the war; and they will endeavor to take steps for international prevention and control of disease.

International bureaus and commissions already established will be placed under the league, as will all those to be established in the future.

Amendments to the Covenant

Amendments to the covenant will take effect when ratified by the council and a majority of the assembly.

SECTION II—BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY

Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, 5,600 square miles, in the southwest, and to Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland, totaling 382 square miles. She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia beyond and including Oppeln, most of Posen, and West Prussia, 21,686 square miles, East Prussia being isolated from the main body by a part of Poland. She loses sovereignty over the northeastmost tip of East Prussia, 40 square miles north of the River Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, 729 square miles, and the basin of the Saar, 738 square miles, between the western border of the Rhenish Palatine of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg. The Danzig area consists of the "V" between the Nogat and Vistula Rivers, made a "W" by the addition of a similar "V" on the west, including the city of Danzig. The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude $53^{\circ} 30'$ is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, 5,788 square miles, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, 2,787 square miles.

Belgium

Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839 by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and to agree in advance to any convention with which the allied and associated powers may determine to replace them. She is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Moresnet and over part of Prussian Moresnet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights over the circles of Eupen and Malmedy, the inhabitants of which are to be entitled within six months to protest against this change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the League of Nations. A commission is to settle the details of the frontier, and various regulations for change of nationality are laid down.

Luxemburg

Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it

ceased to be a part of the German Zollverein from January 1st last, renounces all rights of exploitation of its railways, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it, reached by the allied and associated powers.

Left Bank of the Rhine

As provided in the military clauses, Germany will not maintain any fortifications or armed forces less than 50 kilometers to the east of the Rhine, hold any maneuvers, nor maintain any works to facilitate mobilization. In case of violation, "she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers who sign the present treaty, and as intending to disturb the peace of the world." "By virtue of the present treaty, Germany shall be bound to respond to any request for an explanation which the council of the League of Nations may think it necessary to address to her."

Alsace-Lorraine

After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the treaty of Frankfort are restored to France, with their frontiers as before 1871, to date from the signing of the armistice, and to be free of all public debts.

Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full French citizenship, those who have to make a formal application therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open after three years. The last-named class includes German residents in Alsace-Lorraine, as distinguished from those who acquire the position of Alsace-Lorrainers as defined in the treaty.

All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to France without payment or credit. France is substituted for Germany as regards ownership of the railroads and rights over concessions of tramways. The Rhine bridges pass to France, with the obligation for their upkeep.

For five years manufactured products of Alsace-Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to a total amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war, and textile materials may be imported from Germany to Alsace-Lorraine and reëxported free of duty. Contracts for electric power from the right bank must be continued for 10 years.

For 7 years, with possible extension to 10, the ports of Kehl and Strasbourg shall be administered as a single unit by a French administrator, appointed and supervised by the Central Rhine Commission. Property rights will be safeguarded in both ports, and equality of treatment as respects traffic assured the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

Contracts between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans are maintained, save for France's right to annul on grounds of public interest. Judgments of courts hold in certain classes of cases, while in others a judicial *exequatur* is first required. Political condemnations during the war are null and void, and the obligations to repay war fines is established as in other parts of allied territory.

Various clauses adjust the general provisions of the treaty to the special conditions of Alsace-Lorraine, certain matters of execution being left to conventions to be made between France and Germany.

The Saar

In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in northern France, and as payment on account of reparation, Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Saar Basin, with their subsidiaries, accessories, and facilities. Their value will be estimated by the Reparation Commission and credited against that account. The French rights will be governed by German law in force at the armistice, excepting war legislation, France replacing the present owners, whom Germany undertakes to indemnify. France will continue to furnish the present proportion of coal for local needs and contribute in just proportion to local

taxes. The basin extends from the frontier of Lorraine, as reannexed to France, north as far as St. Wendel, including on the west the valley of the Saar as far as Saarholzbach, and on the east the town of Homburg.

In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population and guarantee to France entire freedom in working the mines, the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations, and consisting of five members, one French, one a native of the Saar, and three representing three different countries other than France and Germany. The league will appoint a member of the commission as chairman, to act as executive of the commission. The commission will have all powers of government formerly belonging to the German Empire, Prussia, and Bavaria; will administer the railroads and other public services, and have full power to interpret the treaty clauses. The local courts will continue, but subject to the commission. Existing German legislation will remain the basis of law, but the commission may make modifications after consulting a local representative assembly, which it will organize. It will have the taxing power, but for local purposes only; new taxes must be approved by this assembly. Labor legislation will consider the wishes of the local labor organizations and the labor program of the league. French and other labor may be freely utilized, the former being free to belong to French unions. All rights acquired as to pensions and social insurance will be maintained by Germany and the Saar Commission. There will be no military service but only a local gendarmerie to preserve order. The people will preserve their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools, and language, but may vote only for local assemblies. They will keep their present nationality, except so far as individuals may change it. Those wishing to leave will have every facility with respect to their property. The territory will form part of the French customs system, with no export tax on coal and metallurgical products going to Germany, nor on German products entering the basin, and for five years no import duties on products of the basin going to Germany.

or German products coming into the basin for local consumption. French money may circulate without restriction.

After 15 years a plebiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing régime under the League of Nations, union with France, or union with Germany. The right to vote will belong to all inhabitants over 20 resident therein at the signature. Taking into account the opinions thus expressed, the league will decide the ultimate sovereignty. In any portion restored to Germany the German Government must buy out the French mines at an appraised valuation; if the price is not paid within six months thereafter, this portion passes finally to France. If Germany buys back the mines, the league will determine how much of the coal shall be annually sold to France.

German-Austria

Germany recognizes the independence of German-Austria as inalienable except by consent of the League of Nations.

Czecho-Slovakia

Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this State as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914. The usual stipulations as to acquisition and change of nationality follow.

Poland

Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of Upper Silesia, Posen, and the province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A field boundary commission of seven, five representing the allied and associated powers and one each representing Poland and Germany, shall be constituted within 15 days of the peace to delimit this boundary. Such special provisions as are necessary to protect racial, linguistic, or religious minorities, and to assure freedom of transit and

equitable treatment of commerce of other nations, shall be laid down in a subsequent treaty between the five allied and associated powers and Poland.

East Prussia

The southern and the eastern frontier of East Prussia as facing Poland is to be fixed by plebiscites, the first in the Regency of Allenstein, between the southern frontier of East Prussia and the northern frontier of Regierungsbesirk Allenstein, from where it meets the boundary between East and West Prussia, to its junction with the boundary between the circles of Oletsko and Augersburg, thence the northern boundary of Oletsko to its junction with the present frontier, and the second in the area comprising the circles of Stuhn and Rosenburg and the parts of the circles of Marienburg and Marienwerder east of the Vistula.

In each case German troops and authorities will move out within 15 days of the peace, and the territories be placed under an international commission of five members appointed by the five allied and associated powers, with the particular duty of arranging for a free, fair and secret vote. The commission will report the results of the plebiscites to the five powers, with a recommendation for the boundary, and will terminate its work as soon as the boundary has been laid down and the new authorities set up.

The five allied and associated powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to and use of the Vistula. A subsequent convention, of which the terms will be fixed by the five allied and associated powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany, and Danzig, to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

The northeastern corner of East Prussia about Memel is to be ceded by Germany to the associated powers, the former agreeing to accept the settlement made, especially as regards the nationality of the inhabitants.

Danzig

Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the "Free City of Danzig" under the guarantee of the League of Nations, and resident at Danzig, shall draw up a constitution in agreement with the duly appointed representatives of the city, and shall deal in the first instance with all differences arising between the city and Poland. The actual boundaries of the city shall be delimited by a commission appointed within six months from the peace, and to include three representatives chosen by the allied and associated powers, and one each by Germany and Poland.

A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the five allied and associated powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig which shall include Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers, though with a free area in the port: insure to Poland the free use of all the city's waterways, docks, and other port facilities, the control and administration of the Vistula, and the whole through railway system within the city, and postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; provide against discrimination against Poles within the city, and place its foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens abroad in charge of Poland.

Denmark

The frontier between Germany and Denmark will be fixed in accordance with the wishes of the population. Ten days from the peace, German troops and authorities shall evacuate the region north of the line running from the mouth of the Schlei, south of Kappel, Schleswig, and Friedrichstadt along the Eider to the North Sea south of Tonning; the workmen's and soldiers' councils shall be dissolved; and the territory administered by an international commission of five, of whom Norway and Sweden shall be invited to name two.

The commission shall insure a free and secret vote in three zones. That between the German-Danish frontier and a line running south of the island of Alsen, north of Flens-

burg and south of Tondern to the North Sea north of the island of Sylt will vote as a unit within three weeks after the evacuation. Within five weeks after this vote the second zone, whose southern boundary runs from the North Sea south of the island of Fehr to the Baltic south of Sygum, will vote by communes. Two weeks after that vote the third zone running to the limit of evacuation will also vote by communes. The international commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites, and with due regard for geographical and economic conditions. Germany will renounce all sovereignty over territories north of this line in favor of the associated Governments, who will hand them over to Denmark.

Heligoland

The fortifications, military establishments, and harbors of the islands of Heligoland and Dune are to be destroyed under the supervision of the Allies by German labor, and at Germany's expense. They may not be reconstructed, nor any similar works built in the future.

Russia

Germany agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all territories which were part of the former Russian Empire, to accept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk and other treaties entered into with the Maximalist Government of Russia, to recognize the full force of all treaties entered into by the allied and associated powers with States which were a part of the former Russian Empire, and to recognize the frontiers as determined thereon. The allied and associated powers formally reserve the right of Russia to obtain restitution and reparation on the principles of the present treaty.

SECTION IV—GERMAN RIGHTS OUTSIDE EUROPE

Outside Europe, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges as to her own or her allies' territories to all the allied and associated powers, and undertakes to accept

whatever measures are taken by the five allied powers in relation thereto.

Colonies and Overseas Possessions

Germany renounces in favor of the allied and associated powers her oversea possessions, with all rights and titles therein. All movable and immovable property belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority therein. These Governments may make whatever provisions seem suitable for the repatriation of German nationals, and as to the conditions on which German subjects of European origin shall reside, hold property, or carry on business. Germany undertakes to pay reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or its frontier zone through the acts of German civil and military authorities and of individual Germans from January 1, 1900, to August, 1914. Germany renounces all rights under the convention of November 4, 1911, and September 28, 1912, and undertakes to pay to France in accordance with an estimate presented and approved by the Reparation Commission all deposits, credits, advances, etc., thereby secured. Germany undertakes to accept and observe any provisions by the allied and associated powers as to the trade in arms and spirits in Africa, as well as to the general act of Berlin, 1885, and the general act of Brussels of 1890. Diplomatic protection to the inhabitants of former German colonies is to be given by the Governments exercising authority.

China

Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer Protocol of 1901, and all buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, munitions of war, ships, wireless plants, and other public property, except diplomatic or consular establishments, in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow, and in other Chinese territory except Kiao-Chow, and agrees to return to China at her own expense all the astronomical instruments seized in 1900 and 1901. China will, however, take no measures for disposal

of German property in the legation quarter at Pekin without the consent of the powers signatory to the Boxer Protocol.

Germany accepts the abrogation of the concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, China agreeing to open them to international use. Germany renounces all claims against China or any allied and associated Government for the internment or repatriation of her citizens in China, and for the seizure or liquidation of German interests there since August 14, 1917. She renounces in favor of Great Britain her State property in the British concession at Canton, and of France and China jointly of the property of the German school in the French concession at Shanghai.

Siam

Germany recognizes that all agreements between herself and Siam, including the right of extraterritoriality, ceased July 22, 1917. All German public property, except consular and diplomatic premises, passes without compensation to Siam, German private property to be dealt with in accordance with the economic clauses. Germany waives all claims against Siam for the seizure and condemnation of her ships, liquidation of her property, or internment of her nationals.

Liberia

Germany renounces all rights under the international arrangements of 1911-1912 regarding Liberia, more particularly the right to nominate a receiver of the customs, and disinterests herself in any further negotiations for the rehabilitation of Liberia. She regards as abrogated all commercial treaties and agreements between herself and Liberia, and recognizes Liberia's right to determine the status and condition of the reestablishment of Germans in Liberia.

Morocco

Germany renounces all her rights, titles, and privileges under the act of Algeciras and the Franco-German agreements of 1909 and 1911, and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian Empire. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France

and other powers, accepts all the consequences of the French protectorate there, and renounces the capitulations. The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regard to German nationals, and all German protected persons shall be subject to the common law. All movable and immovable German property, including mining rights, may be sold at public auction, the proceeds to be paid to the Sherifian Government and deducted from the reparation account. Germany is also required to relinquish her interests in the State Bank of Morocco. All Moroccan goods entering Germany shall have the same privilege as French goods.

Egypt

Germany recognizes the British protectorate over Egypt declared on December 18, 1914, and renounces as from August 4, 1914, the capitulations and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations about Egypt between Great Britain and other powers. There are provisions for jurisdiction over German nationals and property, and for German consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the Commission of Public Debt. Germany consents to the transfer to Great Britain of the powers given to the late Sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Arrangements for property belonging to German nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

Turkey and Bulgaria

Germany accepts all arrangements which the allied and associated powers make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, privileges, or interests claimed in those countries by Germany or her nationals and not dealt with elsewhere.

Shantung

Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles, and privileges, notably as to Kiao-Chow, and the railroads, mines, and cables

acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1898, and by other agreements as to Shantung. All German rights to the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan, and the cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and Chefoo, the cables free of all charges. All German State property, movable and immovable, in Kiao-Chow, is acquired by Japan free of all charges.

SECTION V—MILITARY, NAVAL, AND AIR

“In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes directly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.”

Military Forces

The demobilization of the German Army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. Divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs.

The great German general staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives, is reduced to one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget. Employees of the German States, such as customs officers, forest guards, and coast guards, may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

Armaments

All establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage, or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace and their personnel dismissed. The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down

in detailed tables, all in excess to be surrendered or rendered useless. The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and all analogous liquids is forbidden, as well as the importation of arms, munitions, and war materials. Germany may not manufacture such materials for foreign Governments.

Congscription

Congscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistments for terms of 12 consecutive years, the number of discharges before the expiration of that term not in any year to exceed 5 per cent. of the total effectives. Officers remaining in the service must agree to serve to the age of 45 years, and newly appointed officers must agree to serve actively for 25 years.

No military schools except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations, such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments, or universities may occupy themselves with military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

Fortresses

All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory within a zone 50 kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

Control

Interallied commissions of control will see to the execution of the provisions for which a time limit is set, the maximum named being three months. They may establish headquarters at the German seat of government and go to any part of Germany desired. Germany must give them complete facilities, pay their expenses, and also the expenses of execution of the treaty, including the labor and material

necessary in demolition, destruction or surrender of war equipment.

Naval

The German Navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace.

She will be allowed 6 more battleships, 12 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, and no submarines, either military or commercial, with a personnel of 15,000 men, including officers, and no reserve force of any character. Conscription is abolished, only voluntary service being permitted, with a minimum period of 25 years' service for officers and 12 for men. No member of the German mercantile marine will be permitted any naval training.

All German vessels of war in foreign ports, and the German high-sea fleet interned at Scapa Flow, will be surrendered, the final disposition of these ships to be decided upon by the allied and associated powers. Germany must surrender 42 modern destroyers, 50 modern torpedo boats, and all submarines, with their salvage vessels. All war vessels under construction, including submarines, must be broken up. War vessels not otherwise provided for are to be placed in reserve or used for commercial purposes. Replacement of ships except those lost can take place only at the end of 20 years for battleships and 15 years for destroyers. The largest armored ship Germany will be permitted will be 10,000 tons.

Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, as decided upon by the Allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic defending the passages through the Belts must be demolished. Other coast defenses are permitted, but the number and caliber of the guns must not be increased.

During a period of three months after the peace, German high-power wireless stations at Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin will not be permitted to send any messages except for commercial purposes, and under supervision of the allied and associated Governments, nor may any more be constructed.

Germany will be allowed to repair German submarine cables which have been cut, but are not being utilized by the allied powers, and also portions of cables which, after having been cut, have been removed, or are, at any rate, not being utilized by any one of the allied and associated powers. In such cases the cables, or portions of cables, removed or utilized remain the property of the allied and associated powers, and accordingly 14 cables or parts of cables are specified which will not be restored to Germany.

Air

The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces except for not over 100 unarmed seaplanes to be retained till October 1st to search for submarine mines. No dirigibles shall be kept. The entire air personnel in men retained till October. No aviation grounds or dirigible to be demobilized within two months, except for 1,000 officers, and sheds are to be allowed within 150 kilometers of the Rhine or the eastern or southern frontiers, existing installations within these limits to be destroyed. The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aéronautical material under a most exhaustive definition must be surrendered within three months, except for the hundred seaplanes already specified.

SECTION VI—PRISONERS OF WAR

The repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out without delay and at Germany's expense by a commission composed of representatives of the allies and Germany. Those under sentence for offenses against discipline are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentence. Until Germany has surrendered persons guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war, the allies have the right to retain selected German officers. The allies may deal at their own discretion with German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, all repatriation being conditional on the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Germany. Germany is to accord facili-

ties to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war and in imposing penalties on German officials who have concealed allied nationals. Germany is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

Graves

Both parties will respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried on their territories, agree to recognize and assist any commission charged by any allied or associated Government with identifying, registering, maintaining, or erecting suitable monuments over the graves, and to afford to each other all facilities for the repatriation of the remains of their soldiers.

SECTION VII—RESPONSIBILITIES

“The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William II. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.”

The ex-Emperor’s surrender is to be requested of Holland, and a special tribunal set up, composed of one judge from each of the five great powers, with full guarantees of the right of defense. It is to be guided “by the highest motives of international policy, with a view of vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality,” and will fix the punishment it feels should be imposed.

Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals under military law. If the charges affect nationals of only one State, they will be tried before a tribunal of that State; if they affect nationals of several States, they will be tried before joint tribunals of the States concerned. Germany shall hand over to the associated Governments, either jointly or severally, all persons so accused, and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the

offenders, and the just appreciation of the responsibility. The accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

SECTION VIII—REPARATION

“The allied and associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.”

The total obligation of Germany to pay, as defined in the category of damages, is to be determined and notified to her after a fair hearing and not later than May 1, 1921, by an interallied reparation commission. At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within 30 years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies. Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information, and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees to restore to the allies cash and certain articles which can be identified.

As an immediate step toward restoration, Germany shall pay within two years 20,000,000,000 marks in either gold, goods, ships, or other specific forms of payment, with the understanding that certain expenses such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials may be deducted at the discretion of the Allies.

Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from the allies as a result of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839 up to November 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue at once and hand over to the Reparation Commission 5 per cent. gold bonds falling due in 1926.

While the allied and associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate after taking into account permanent diminution of such resources resulting from the treaty, they require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven main categories:

- (a) Damages by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war, directly or indirectly.
- (b) Damage caused to civilians, including exposure to the sea, resulting from acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy, and to civilians in the occupied territories.
- (c) Damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners.
- (d) Damages to the allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances, capitalized at the signature of this treaty.
- (e) Damages to property other than naval or military materials.
- (f) Damage to civilians by being forced to labor.
- (g) Damages in the form of levies of fines imposed by the enemy.

"In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Reparation Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first, to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues, prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondary, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission."

"The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances."

The commission shall consist of one representative each of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, and, in certain cases, of Japan and Serbia, with all other allied powers entitled, when their claims are under consideration, to the right of representation without voting power. It shall permit Germany to give evidence regarding her capacity to pay, and shall assure her a just opportunity to be heard. It shall make its headquarters at Paris; establish its own procedure and personnel; have general control

of the whole reparation problem; and become the exclusive agency of the allies for receiving, holding, selling, and distributing reparation payments. Majority vote shall prevail, except that unanimity is required on questions involving the sovereignty of any of the allies, the cancellation of all or part of Germany's obligations, the time and manner of selling, distributing, and negotiating bonds issued by Germany, any postponement between 1921 and 1926 of annual payments beyond 1930 and any postponement after 1926 for a period of more than three years, the application of a different method of measuring damage than in a similar former case, and the interpretation of provisions. Withdrawal from representation is permitted on 12 months' notice.

The commission may require Germany to give from time to time, by way of guaranty, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied. In this connection and on account of the total amount of claims, bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgment of its debt as follows: Twenty billion marks gold, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest; 40,000,000,000 marks gold, bearing $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter 5 per cent., with a 1 per cent. sinking fund payment beginning in 1926; and an undertaking to deliver 40,000,000,000 marks gold bonds, bearing interest at 5 per cent., under terms to be fixed by the commission.

Interest on Germany's debt will be 5 per cent., unless otherwise determined by the commission in the future, and payments that are not made in gold may "be accepted by the commission in the form of properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, etc." Certificates of beneficial interest representing either bonds or goods delivered by Germany may be issued by the commission to the interested power, no power being entitled, however, to have its certificates divided into more than five pieces. As bonds are distributed and pass from the control of the commission, an amount of Germany's debt equivalent to their par value is to be considered as liquidated.

Shipping

The German Government recognizes the right of the allies to the replacement, ton for ton and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and agrees to cede to the allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upwards; one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons gross and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and other fishing boats. These ships are to be delivered within two months to the Reparation Commission, together with documents of title evidencing the transfer of the ships free from encumbrance.

"As an additional part of reparation," the German Government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the Allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years.

All ships used for inland navigation taken by Germany from the allies are to be restored within two months, the amount of loss not covered by such restitution to be made up by the cession of the German river fleet up to 20 per cent. thereof.

In order to effect payment by deliveries in kind, Germany is required, for a limited number of years, varying in the case of each commodity, to deliver coal, coal-tar products, dyestuff, and chemical drugs in specific amounts to the Reparation Commission. The commission may so modify the conditions of delivery as not to interfere unduly with Germany's industrial requirements. The deliveries of coal are based largely upon the principle of making good diminutions in the production of the allied countries resulting from the war.

Devastated Areas

Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. The Reparation Commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, etc., existing in Germany, and to manufacture materials required for reconstruction purposes; all with due consideration for Germany's essential domestic requirements.

As reparation for the destruction of the library of Louvain, Germany is to hand over manuscripts, early printed books, prints, et cetera, to the equivalent of those destroyed.

In addition to the above, Germany is to hand over to Belgium wings now at Berlin belonging to the altarpiece of the Adoration of the Lamb, by Hubert and Jan van Eyck, the center of which is now in the Church of St. Bavo at Ghent, and the wings, now at Berlin and Munich, of the altarpiece of the Last Supper, by Dirk Bouts, the center of which belongs to the Church of St. Peter at Louvain.

Germany is to restore within six months the Koran of the Caliph Othman, formerly at Medina, to the King of the Hedjaz, and the skull of the Sultan Mikwawa, formerly in German East Africa, to His Britannic Majesty's Government.

The German Government is also to restore to the French Government certain papers taken by the German authorities in 1870, belonging then to M. Rouher, and to restore the French flags taken during the war of 1870-71.

Coal, Et Cetera

Germany is to deliver annually for 10 years to France coal equivalent to the difference between annual prewar output of Nord and Pas de Calais mines and annual production during the above 10 years. Germany further gives options over 10 years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons of coal per year to France, in addition to the above of 8,000,000 tons of Belgium, and of an amount rising from 4,500,000 tons in 1919 to 1920, 8,500,000 tons in 1923 to 1924 to Italy at prices to be fixed as prescribed in the treaty. Coke may be taken in place of coal in ratio of 3 tons to 4. Provision is also made for delivery to France over three years of benzol, coal tar and sulphate of ammonia. The commission has powers to postpone or annul the above deliveries should they interfere unduly with industrial requirements of Germany.

Dyestuffs and Chemical Drugs

Germany accords option to the commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs, including quinine, up to 50 per cent. of

total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes into force, and similar option during each six months to end of 1924 up to 25 per cent. of previous six months' output.

Cables

Germany renounces all title to specified cables, value of such as were privately owned being credited to her against reparation indebtedness.

SECTION IX—FINANCE

Powers to which German territory is ceded will assume a certain portion of the German prewar debt, the amount to be fixed by the Reparation Commission on the basis of the ratio between the revenues of the ceded territory and Germany's total revenues for three years preceding the war. In view, however, of the special circumstances under which Alsace-Lorraine was separated from France in 1871, when Germany refused to accept any part of the French public debt, France will not assume any part of Germany's pre-war debt there, nor will Poland share in certain German debts incurred for the oppression of Poland. If the value of the German public property in ceded territory exceeds the amount of debt assumed, the States to which property is ceded give credit on reparation for the excess, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine. Mandatory powers will not assume any German debts or give any credit for German Government property. Germany renounces all right of representation on, or control of, State banks, commissions, or other similar international financial and economic organizations.

Germany is required to pay the total cost of the armies of occupation from the date of the armistice as long as they are maintained in German territory, this cost to be a first charge on her resources. The cost of reparation is the next charge, after making such provisions for payments for imports as the allies may deem necessary.

Germany is to deliver to the allied and associated powers all sums deposited in Germany by Turkey and Austria-Hungary in connection with the financial support extended by her

to them during the war, and to transfer to the allies all claims with agreements made during the war. Germany confirms against Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey in connection the renunciation of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk.

On the request of the Reparation Commission, Germany will expropriate any rights or interests of her nationals in public utilities in ceded territories or those administered by mandatories, and in Turkey, China, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, and transfer them to the Reparation Commission, which will credit her with their value. Germany guarantees to repay to Brazil the fund arising from the sale of São Paulo coffee which she refused to allow Brazil to withdraw from Germany.

SECTION X—ECONOMIC CLAUSES

Customs

For a period of six months, Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in force in 1914, and for certain agricultural products, wines, vegetable oils, artificial silk, and washed or scoured wool, this restriction obtains for two and a half years more. For five years, unless further extended by the League of Nations, Germany must give most-favored-nation treatment to the allied and associated powers. She shall impose no customs tariff for five years on goods originating in Alsace-Lorraine and for three years on goods originating in former German territory ceded to Poland, with the right of reservation of a similar exception for Luxemburg.

Shipping

Ships of the allied and associated powers shall for five years and thereafter under condition of reciprocity, unless the League of Nations otherwise decides, enjoy the same rights in German ports as German vessels and have most-favored-nation treatment in fishing, coasting trade, and tonnage, even in territorial waters. Ships of a country having no seacoast may be registered at some one place within its territory.

Unfair Competition

Germany undertakes to give the trade of the allied and associated powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition, and in particular to suppress the use of false wrappings and markings, and on condition of reciprocity to respect the laws and judicial decisions of allied and associated States in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits.

Treatment of Nationals

Germany shall impose no exceptional taxes or restrictions upon the nationals of allied and associated States for a period of five years, and unless the League of Nations acts for an additional five years. German nationality shall not continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an allied or associated State.

Multilateral Conventions

Some 40 multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the allied and associated powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several. As to postal and telegraphic conventions, Germany must not refuse to make reciprocal agreements with the new States. She must agree as respects the radio-telegraphic convention to provisional rules to be communicated to her and adhere to the new convention when formulated; in the North Sea fisheries and North Sea liquor traffic conventions, rights of inspection and police over associated fishing boats shall be exercised for at least five years only by vessels of these powers; as to the International Railway Union, she shall adhere to the new convention when formulated. China, as to the Chinese customs tariff arrangement, the arrangement of 1905 regarding Whang-Poo, and the Boxer indemnity of 1901; France, Portugal, and Rumania as to The Hague convention of 1903, relating to civil procedure; and Great Britain and the United States as to article 3 of the Samoan treaty of 1899, are relieved of all obligation toward Germany.

Bilateral Treaties

Each allied and associated State may renew any treaty with Germany in so far as consistent with the peace treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since August 1, 1914, with other enemy States, and before or since that date with Rumania, Russia, and Governments representing parts of Russia, are abrogated, and concessions granted under pressure by Russia to German subjects annulled. The allied and associated States are to enjoy most-favored-nation treatment under treaties entered into by Germany and other enemy States before August 1, 1914, and under treaties entered into by Germany and neutral States during the war.

Prewar Debts

A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one in each allied and associated State which adopts the plan, for the payment of prewar debts, including those arising from contracts suspended by the war; for the adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property, and the settlement of other obligations. Each participating State assumes responsibility for the payment of all debts owing by its nationals to nationals of the enemy States except in cases of prewar insolvency of the debtor. The proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating State may be used to pay the debts owed to the nationals of that State, direct payment from debtor to creditor, and all communications relating thereto being prohibited. Disputes may be settled by arbitration, by the courts of the debtor country, or by the mixed arbitral tribunal. Any allied or associated power may, however, decline to participate in this system by giving Germany six months' notice.

Enemy Property

Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The allied and associ-

ated States may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for property of their nationals not restored or paid for by Germany, for debts owed to their nationals by German nationals, and for other claims against Germany. Germany is to compensate its nationals for such losses, and to deliver within six months all documents relating to property held by its nationals in allied and associated States. All war legislation as to enemy property, rights, and interests is confirmed, and all claims by Germany against the allied or associated Governments for acts under exceptional war measures abandoned.

Contracts

Prewar contracts between allied and associated nationals, excepting the United States, Japan, and Brazil, and German nationals, are canceled, except for debts for acts already performed, agreements for the transfer of property where the property had already passed, leases of land and houses, contracts of mortgage, pledge or lien, mining concessions, contracts with Governments, and insurance contracts. Mixed arbitral tribunals shall be established of three members, one chosen by Germany, one by the associated State, and the third by agreement, or, failing which, by the present President of Switzerland. They shall have jurisdiction over all disputes as to contracts concluded before the present peace treaty.

Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war, even if premiums have not been paid, but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the peace. Life insurance contracts may be restored by payments of accumulated premiums with interest, sums falling due on such contracts during the war to be recoverable with interest. Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war, except when the risk insured against had already been incurred. Where the risk had not attached, premiums paid are recoverable; otherwise premiums due and sums due on losses are recoverable. Reinsurance treaties are abrogated unless invasion has made it impossible for the reinsured to find another reinsurer. Any allied or associated power, however, may cancel all the contracts running

between its nationals and a German life insurance company, the latter being obligated to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

Industrial Property

Property rights as to industrial, literary, and artistic property are reestablished, the special war measures of the allied and associated powers are ratified; and the right reserved to impose conditions on the use of German patents and copyrights when in the public interest. Except as between the United States and Germany, prewar licenses and rights to sue for infringements committed during the war are canceled.

Opium

The contracting powers agree, whether or not they have signed and ratified the opium convention of January 23, 1912, or signed the special protocol opened at The Hague in accordance with resolutions adopted by the third opium conference in 1914, to bring the said convention into force by enacting within 12 months of the peace the necessary legislation.

Religious Missions

The allied and associated powers agree that the properties of religious missions in territories belonging or ceded to them shall continue in their work under the control of the powers, Germany renouncing all claims in their behalf.

SECTION XI—AÉRIAL NAVIGATION

Aircraft of the allied and associated powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German planes as to use of German airdomes, and with most-favored-nation planes as to internal commercial traffic in Germany. Germany agrees to accept allied certificates of rationality, airworthiness or competency, and licenses, and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the Allies and associated powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These conditions apply until 1923, unless Germany has since

been admitted to the League of Nations or to the above convention.

SECTION XII—FREEDOM OF TRANSIT

Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by rail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages, and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations based on nationality, means of transport, or place or entry or departure. Goods in transit shall be assured all possible speed of journey, especially perishable goods. Germany may not divert traffic from its normal course in favor of her own transport routes or maintain "control stations" in connection with transmigration traffic. She may not establish any taxes discriminating against the ports of allied or associated powers; must grant the latter's seaports all favors and reduced tariffs granted her own or other nationals, and afford the allied and associated powers equal rights with those of her own nationals in her ports and waterways, save that she is free to open or close her maritime coasting trade.

Free Zones in Port

Free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, must be maintained with due facilities as to warehouses, packing, and unpacking, without discrimination, and without charges except for expenses of administration and use. Goods leaving the free zones for consumption in Germany and goods brought into the free zones from Germany shall be subject to the ordinary import and export taxes.

The Elbe from the junction of the Vltava, the Vltava from Prague, the Oder from Oppa, the Nieman from Grodno, and the Danube from Ulm are declared international, together with their connections. The riparian States must insure good conditions of navigation within their territories unless a special organization exists therefor. Otherwise appeal may be had to a special tribunal of the League of Nations, which also may arrange for a general international waterways convention.

International Rivers

The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions to meet within three months, that for the Elbe composed of four representatives of Germany, two from Czecho-Slovakia, and one each from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium; and that for the Oder composed of one each from Poland, Prussia, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden. If any riparian State on the Niemen should so request of the League of Nations, a similar commission shall be established there. These commissions shall upon request of any riparian State meet within three months to revise existing international agreements.

The Danube

The European Danube Commission reassumes its pre-war powers, but for the time being with representatives of only Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania. The Upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission until a definitive statute be drawn up at a conference of the powers nominated by the allied and associated Governments within one year after the peace. The enemy Governments shall make full reparations for all war damages caused to the European commission; shall cede their river facilities in surrendered territory, and give Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia, and Rumania any rights necessary on their shores for carrying out improvements in navigation.

The Rhine and the Moselle

The Rhine is placed under the central commission, to meet at Strasbourg within six months after the peace, and to be composed of four representatives of France, which shall, in addition, select the president, four of Germany, and two each of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Germany must give France on the course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of her frontiers all rights to take water to feed canals, while herself agreeing not to make canals on the right bank opposite France. She

must also hand over to France all her drafts and designs for this part of the river. Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep draft Rhine-Meuse canal if she so desires within 25 years, in which case Germany must construct the part within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium. Similarly the interested allied Governments may construct a Rhine-Danube canal, both, if constructed, to come under the competent international commission. Germany may not object if the central Rhine commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the Lower Moselle, the Upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

Germany must cede to the allied and associated Governments certain tugs, vessels, and facilities for navigation on all these rivers, the specific details to be established by an arbiter named by the United States. Decision will be based on the legitimate needs of the parties concerned, and on the shipping traffic during the five years before the war. The value will be included in the regular reparation account. In the case of the Rhine shares in the German navigation companies and property, such as wharves and warehouses held by Germany in Rotterdam at the outbreak of the war, must be handed over.

Railways

Germany, in addition to most-favored-nation treatment on her railways, agrees to coöperate in the establishment of through-ticket services for passengers and baggage; to insure communication by rail between the allied, associated, and other States; to allow the construction or improvement within 25 years of such lines as necessary; and to conform her rolling stock to enable its incorporation in trains of the allied or associated powers. She also agrees to accept the denunciation of the St. Gotthard convention if Switzerland and Italy so request, and temporarily to execute instructions as to the transport of troops and supplies and the establishment of postal and telegraphic service, as provided.

Czecho-Slovakia

To assure Czecho-Slovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her, both north and south. Toward the Adriatic,

she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her for 99 years spaces in Hamburg and Stettin, the details to be worked out by a Commission of three representing Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Great Britain.

The Kiel Canal

The Kiel Canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany. Subjects, goods, and ships of all States are to be treated on terms of absolute equality, and no taxes to be imposed beyond those necessary for upkeep and improvement, for which Germany is to be responsible. In case of violation of or disagreement as to these provisions, any State may appeal to the League of Nations, and may demand the appointment of an international commission. For preliminary hearing of complaints, Germany shall establish a local authority at Kiel.

SECTION XIII—INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office.

The former is composed of four representatives of each State, two from the Government and one each from the employers and the employed; each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberative legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which, if passed by two-thirds vote, must be submitted to the law-making authority in every State participating. Each Government may either enact the terms into law; approve the principle but modify them to local needs; leave the actual legislation in case of a federal State to local legislatures; or reject the convention altogether without further obligation.

The international labor office is established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its organization. It is to

collect and distribute information on labor throughout the world and prepare agenda for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly in other languages. Each State agrees to make to it for presentation to the conference an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions. The governing body is its executive. It consists of 24 members, 12 representing the Governments, 6 the employers, and 6 the employees, to serve for three years.

On complaint that any Government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that Government, and in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment. A complaint by one Government against another may be referred by the governing body to a commission of inquiry nominated by the secretary general of the league. If the commission's report fails to bring satisfactory action, the matter may be taken to a permanent court of international justice for final decision. The chief reliance for securing enforcement of the law will be publicity, with a possibility of economic action in the background.

The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the 8-hour day or 48-hour week; prevention of unemployment; extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 prohibiting night work for women, and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; and employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, of women before and after childbirth, including maternity benefit, and of children as regards minimum age.

Labor Clauses

Nine principles of labor conditions are recognized, on the ground that "the well-being, physical, and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance." With exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits, and economic development, they include: The guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; right of association

of employers and employees; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the 8-hour day or 48-hour week; a weekly rest of at least 24 hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers, including foreigners; and a system of inspection, in which women should take part.

SECTION XIV—GUARANTEES

Western Europe

As a guarantee for the execution of the treaty, German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridge-heads, will be occupied by allied and associated troops for 15 years. If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany, certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts, including the bridgehead of Coblenz, and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier, will be evacuated after 10 years, and the remainder, including the bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated after 15 years. In case the inter-allied reparation commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations, either during the occupation or after the 15 years have expired, the whole or part of the areas specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the 15 years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

Eastern Europe

All German troops at present in territories to the east of the new frontier shall return as soon as the allied and associated Governments deem wise. They are to abstain from all requisitions, and are in no way to interfere with measures for national defense taken by the Governments concerned.

All questions regarding occupation not provided for by

the treaty will be regulated by a subsequent convention or conventions which will have similar force and effect.

SECTION XV—MISCELLANEOUS

Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers allied with Germany, to agree to the decisions to be taken as to the territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to recognize the new States in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated power signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Germany accepts all decrees as to German ships and goods made by any allied or associated prize court. The Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified and the dispositions of ratification made in Paris as soon as possible. The treaty is to become effective in all respects for each power on the date of deposition of its ratification.

APPENDICES

STATISTICS OF THE GREAT WAR

Including Pronouncing Vocabulary,
Chronologies, Bibliography, etc.

COSTS OF THE WAR

LIVES LOST

Battle deaths.....	7,200,000
Other army deaths from disease, etc.....	3,700,000
Civilian deaths (estimated).....	9,000,000
Permanent human wrecks.....	6,000,000
Total human loss (chiefly of vigorous males).....	25,900,000

PROPERTY LOSS

France (Factories, farms, homes, etc.).....	\$10,000,000,000
Belgium (Factories, farms, homes, etc.).....	7,000,000,000
Other surviving countries (Factories, farms, homes, etc.).....	13,000,000,000
Ships (more than half British).....	3,000,000,000
Cargoes.....	4,000,000,000
War debt of surviving Allies.....	105,000,000,000
War debt of Central Powers.....	64,000,000,000
Russia, direct losses (really incalculable).....	50,000,000,000
Total direct loss.....	\$256,000,000,000
Indirect loss, through lack of production (estimated).....	150,000,000,000
	\$406,000,000,000, ¹

¹ As a basis for valuing this enormous sum of money, take the fact that the United States, which was in 1916 the richest country in the world, was then valued at \$220,000,000,000. In other words, if the United States and another similar country almost equally wealthy had been engulfed by some vast earthquake and wholly disappeared, the property loss would have about equalled that of the War.

BATTLE DEATHS IN ARMIES, 1914-1918

Russia.....	1,700,000
Germany.....	1,611,000
France.....	1,385,000
Great Britain.....	772,000
Austria.....	800,000
Italy.....	330,000
Turkey.....	250,000
Serbia and Montenegro.....	125,000
Belgium.....	20,000
Rumania.....	100,000
Bulgaria.....	100,000
United States.....	50,327
Greece.....	7,000
Portugal.....	2,000
Total.....	7,252,327

TOTAL CASUALTIES OF ARMED FORCES¹

	Population	Mobilized	Dead	Wounded	Prisoners
British Empire.	440,000,000	8,000,000	1,200,000	2,037,325	280,367
United States..	98,800,000	4,764,000	116,492	205,690	6,089
France.....	39,840,000	7,500,000	1,700,000	2,675,000	446,300
Italy.....	36,000,000	5,200,000	460,000	947,000	1,393,000
Belgium.....	7,645,000	267,000	102,000	60,000	10,000
Serbia.....	3,094,000	707,000	322,000	28,000	100,000
Montenegro.....	437,000	50,000	3,000	10,000	7,000
Rumania.....	7,508,000	750,000	200,000	120,000	80,000
Portugal.....	6,100,000	100,000	4,000	15,000	200
Japan.....	54,000,000	800,000	300	907
Greece.....	4,820,000	230,000	15,000	40,000	45,000
Russia.....	178,379,000	12,000,000	2,600,000	4,950,000	2,500,000
Totals.....	876,623,000	40,368,000	6,717,234	11,088,922	3,867,956
German Empire	68,166,000	11,000,000	2,200,000	3,683,000	772,522
Austria-Hungary	61,039,000	6,500,000	1,200,000	3,200,000	1,211,000
Turkey.....	21,274,000	1,600,000	300,000	570,000	130,000
Bulgaria.....	4,400,000	400,000	201,224	152,400	10,825
Totals.....	154,879,000	19,500,000	3,901,224	7,605,400	2,124,347

CIVILIANS SLAUGHTERED²

Armenians.....	1,100,000	Rumanians.....	275,000
Greeks (in Turkey).....	900,000	French.....	40,000
Syrians.....	150,000	Belgians.....	30,000
Serbians.....	650,000	British (by U-boats)....	20,620
Poles and Lithuanians....	500,000	Neutrals (by U-boats)...	7,500

The first three items, which represent the total of official Turkish massacres, were estimated by the Eastern relief commissions in 1920 at almost double these figures.

MONEY EXPENDITURES ON THE WAR

Estimated actual Government expenditures in excess of the usual peace expenditure, and not including moneys loaned to one another.

British Empire.....	\$38,000,000,000	Germany.....	\$39,000,000,000
France.....	26,000,000,000	Austria.....	21,000,000,000
United States.....	22,000,000,000	Turkey.....	3,500,000,000
Italy.....	13,000,000,000	Bulgaria.....	500,000,000
Other Allies.....	6,000,000,000		
	\$105,000,000,000		\$64,000,000,000

¹ Figures in italics are official, the others are closely estimated for Western Europe, but are little more than approximations for most of the Eastern countries.

² These form the closest available approximations to the number of civilians massacred, starved or dying from privation as a direct result of the War's ravage. They do not include deaths from privation in uninvaded regions. These were heavy especially in Austria-Hungary and Russia.

MERCHANT SHIPPING LOSSES

Measured in Gross Tons

	In 1914	Lost in War	Built in War	In Dec., 1918
Great Britain.....	20,100,000	7,757,000	4,557,000	16,900,000
United States.....	1,875,000	395,000	4,239,000	5,719,000
Other Allies.....	7,675,000	2,603,000	1,768,000	6,840,000
Neutrals.....	6,640,000	1,990,000	1,136,000	5,786,000
Totals.....	36,290,000	12,745,000	11,700,000	35,245,000
Central Powers.....	6,325,000	1,965,000	4,360,000

Loss by Years

1915 = 1,299,700 1916 = 2,362,800 1917 = 6,202,800 1918 = 2,637,400

WAR SHIP LOSSES

British.....	550,000	German.....	350,000
Other Allies.....	253,000	German Allies.....	65,000
	803,000		415,000

U-BOATS SUNK

1915 = 21 1916 = 28 1917 = 67 1918 = 89 Total = 205

These are "confirmed" sinkings; more than as many again were reported as sunk, making a possible total of 464.

FINANCIAL SITUATION AFTER THE WAR

	National Wealth in 1914	National Debt in 1914	National Wealth in 1919	National Debt in 1919
United States	180,000,000,000	1,300,000,000	200,000,000,000	24,000,000,000
Great Britain	85,000,000,000	3,500,000,000	60,000,000,000	34,000,000,000
France.....	67,000,000,000	6,600,000,000	40,000,000,000	27,000,000,000
Italy.....	16,000,000,000	2,900,000,000	12,000,000,000	11,000,000,000
Germany....	78,000,000,000	1,200,000,000	50,000,000,000	39,000,000,000

This table does not take into account the German pledges of sums in reparation to the Allies.

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF ARMED FORCES

The approximate maximum number of troops in service at any one time (the new classes replacing losses) were as follows:

Germany.....	about 11,000,000	France.....	about 5,000,000
Austria-Hungary..	" 7,000,000	Great Britain.....	" 5,000,000
Turkey.....	" 1,600,000	Russia.....	" 9,000,000
Bulgaria.....	" 400,000	Italy.....	" 2,500,000
		United States.....	" 2,000,000
		Rumania.....	" 750,000
		Serbia.....	" 500,000
		Greece.....	" 230,000
Total.....	20,000,000	Total.....	25,000,000

COMPARATIVE RIFLE STRENGTH, APRIL-NOVEMBER, 1918

By the "rifle strength" of an army is meant the number of men standing in the trench ready to "go over the top." The U. S. War Department has issued the figures of the rifle strength on both sides on the Western front during the eight months before the armistice.

	Allies	Germany
April 1.....	1,245,000	1,569,000
May 1.....	1,343,000	1,600,000
June 1.....	1,496,000	1,639,000
July 1.....	1,556,000	1,412,000
August 1.....	1,672,000	1,395,000
September 1.....	1,682,000	1,339,000
October 1.....	1,594,000	1,223,000
November 1.....	1,485,000	906,000

DECLARATIONS OF WAR

Allied and Associated Nations	War declared by Central Powers	War declared against Central Powers	Duration of War
			Years Months Days
1. Serbia.....	July 28, 1914	Aug. 9, 1914	4 3 14
2. Russia ¹	Aug. 1, 1914	Nov. 3, 1914	3 7 3
3. France.....	Aug. 3, 1914	Aug. 3, 1914	4 3 8
4. Belgium.....	Aug. 4, 1914	Apr. 7, 1917	4 3 7
5. Great Britain.....	Nov. 23, 1914	Aug. 4, 1914	4 3 7
6. Montenegro.....	Aug. 9, 1914	Aug. 6, 1914	4 3 5
7. Japan.....	Aug. 27, 1914	Aug. 23, 1914	4 2 19
8. Portugal.....	Mar. 9, 1916	Nov. 23, 1914	3 11 19
9. Italy.....		May 23, 1915	3 5 19
10. San Marino.....		June 6, 1915	3 5 4
11. Rumania ²	Aug. 29, 1916	Aug. 27, 1916	1 6 10
12. Greece.....		Nov. 23, 1916	1 11 18
13. United States.....		Apr. 6, 1917	1 7 5
14. Panama.....		Apr. 7, 1917	1 7 4
15. Cuba.....		Apr. 7, 1917	1 7 4
16. Siam.....		July 22, 1917	1 3 20
17. Liberia.....		Aug. 4, 1917	1 3 8
18. China.....		Aug. 14, 1917	1 2 28
19. Brazil.....		Oct. 26, 1917	1 .. 16
20. Guatemala.....		Apr. 21, 1918	.. 6 21
21. Nicaragua.....		May 6, 1918	.. 6 5
22. Haiti.....		July 12, 1918	.. 3 30
23. Honduras.....		July 19, 1918	.. 3 23

¹ Peace Treaty Mar. 3, 1918.

² Peace Treaty Mar. 6, 1918.

CANADA IN THE WAR

Total armed forces enlisted during War.....	595,441
Total shipped to Europe and Asia.....	432,266
Men in service before the War.....	3,000
Men in service at close of War.....	450,000
Men in Europe at close of War.....	350,000
Total casualties.....	227,341
Financial cost, direct.....	\$1,122,000,000
Subscriptions to various funds.....	\$105,000,000
Subscriptions to Government loans, during War.....	\$1,390,705,000
Subscription to Government "Victory Loan" of 1919.....	\$700,000,000

CASUALTY LIST

Killed in action.....	35,666
Died of wounds.....	15,450
Died of disease abroad.....	5,518
Died in army in Canada.....	2,633
Missing, presumed dead.....	4,671
Total Army deaths.....	63,938
Navy losses.....	161
Army prisoners.....	6,018
Army wounded.....	156,799
Unaccounted for.....	425
Total Casualties.....	227,341

POPULAR SUBSCRIPTIONS

Red Cross.....	\$22,000,000	Patriotic Fund.....	\$55,000,000
Y. M. C. A. and K. of C.....	6,000,000	War Relief Funds.....	5,000,000
Salvation Army.....	2,000,000	Miscellaneous.....	15,000,000

PROGRESS MADE BY CANADA IN FEEDING THE WORLD

	3 year pre-war average		3 year pre-war average
Animals and their products exported....	\$49,868,732	Grain and vegetable products exported	\$140,406,633
Animals and their products exported:		products exported:	
1915.....	\$76,956,002	1915.....	\$170,350,064
1916.....	105,819,190	1916.....	266,875,190
1917.....	135,312,810	1917.....	380,864,770
Animals and their products exported for fiscal year ending Mar., 1918		Grain and vegetable products exported for fiscal year ending Mar., 1918	
Six months ended		Six months ended	
Sept., 1917.....	\$83,002,705	Sept., 1917.....	\$260,654,960
October.....	18,679,265	October.....	45,504,815
November.....	23,237,442	November.....	77,961,781
December.....	11,433,910	December.....	91,216,447
January, 1918....	15,918,079	January, 1918....	26,390,294
February.....	10,918,931	February.....	28,089,659
March.....	9,552,749	March.....	37,895,628
Total.....	<hr/> \$172,743,081	Total.....	<hr/> \$567,713,584
Animals and their products exported in six months ending Sept. 1918		Grain and vegetable products exported in six months ending Sept., 1918	
April.....	\$6,386,232	April.....	\$30,216,948
May.....	6,607,272	May.....	24,053,989
June.....	12,439,058	June.....	27,231,125
July.....	13,838,389	July.....	19,434,676
August.....	17,988,859	August.....	16,581,308
September.....	16,488,176	September.....	16,165,760
Total.....	<hr/> \$73,747,986	Total.....	<hr/> \$133,683,806

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

Total armed forces, including Army, Navy, Marine Corps, etc.	4,800,000
Total men in the Army.....	4,000,000
Men who went overseas.....	2,086,000
Men who fought in France.....	1,390,000
Greatest number sent in one month.....	306,000
Greatest number returning in one month.....	333,000
Tons of supplies shipped from America to France.....	7,500,000
Total registered in draft.....	24,234,021
Total draft inductions.....	2,810,296
Greatest number inducted in one month.....	400,000
Graduates of Line Officers' Training Schools.....	80,468
Cost of war to April 30, 1919.....	\$21,850,000,000
Cost of Army to April 30, 1919.....	\$13,930,000,000
Battles fought by American troops.....	13
Months of American participation in the war.....	19
Days of battle.....	200
Days of duration of Meuse-Argonne battle.....	47
Americans in Meuse-Argonne battle.....	1,200,000
American casualties on Meuse-Argonne battle.....	120,000
American battle deaths in war.....	50,327
American deaths from disease.....	58,073
Total deaths Army, Navy, etc.....	116,992
Total wounded seriously.....	205,690

COSTS OF THE WAR

War Department.....	\$13,987,202,000
Navy Department.....	3,056,400,000
Civil departments.....	<u>4,311,265,000</u>
<hr/>	
	\$21,354,867,000

COST OF PREVIOUS U. S. WARS

Revolutionary War (estimated).....	\$100,000,000
War of 1812.....	96,100,000
Mexican War.....	74,986,000
Civil War.....	3,221,154,000
Spanish War.....	543,000,000

LIVES LOST IN U. S. WARS

	Battle Deaths	Disease deaths and others
Revolutionary War.....	4,044	?
War of 1812.....	1,877	?
Mexican War.....	1,549	11,347
Civil War.....	110,070	249,458
Spanish War.....	698	5,921
Great War.....	50,327	66,665

LOANS TO THE ALLIES

(Treasury Department report to Oct. 24, 1919)

Great Britain.....	\$4,277,000,000.
France.....	3,047,974,777.24
Italy.....	1,620,922,872.99
Belgium.....	343,445,000.
Russia.....	187,729,750.
Czechoslovakia.....	55,330,000.
Greece.....	48,236,629.05
Serbia.....	26,780,465.56
Rumania.....	25,000,000.
Cuba.....	10,000,000.
Liberia.....	5,000,000.
	\$9,647,419,494.84

LIBERTY LOAN BONDS

(Treasury Department report, June 30, 1919)

	Subscribed	Issued
First.....	\$3,035,226,850	\$1,989,455,550
Second.....	4,617,532,300	3,807,864,200
Third.....	4,176,516,850	4,175,148,700
Fourth.....	6,992,927,100	6,958,481,700
Fifth.....	5,249,908,300	

THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN THE WAR

(Condensed from U. S. Government report)

About 4,000,000 men served in the Army of the United States during the war (Apr. 6, 1917 to Nov. 11, 1918). The total number men serving in the armed forces of the country, including the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the other services, amounted to 4,800,000. It was almost true that among each 100 American citizens 5 took up arms in defense of the country.

During the Civil War 2,400,000 men served in the Northern armies or in the Navy. In that struggle 10 in each 100 inhabitants of the Northern States served as soldiers or sailors. The United States effort in the war with Germany may be compared with that of the Northern States in the Civil War by noting that in the present war we raised twice as many men in actual numbers, but that in proportion to the population we raised only half as many.

It would be interesting and instructive to make comparisons between the numbers in the United States armies during the present war and those of Europe, but unfortunately this is most difficult to do fairly and truly. The reason for the difficulty lies in the diverse military policies of the nations.

It was the policy of France, for example, to mobilize and put into uniform most of the able-bodied men in the population who were not beyond middle age. Some of these were sent into the combatant forces and services of supply

of the active armies. Thousands of others were put at work in munitions factories. Others worked on railroads or cultivated their farms. In general, it was the policy of the Government to put its available man power into uniform and then assign these soldiers to the work that had to be done, whether it was directly military in nature or not.

In the United States it was the policy to take into the Army only those men who were physically fit to fight and to assign them, save in exceptional cases, only to work directly related to the ordinary duties of a soldier. The work of making munitions, running railroads, and building ships was done by men not enrolled in the armed forces of the Nation.

The policies of the other Governments were all different from the two just described. These are the reasons why accurate international comparisons of armies are not possible.

There is, however, one comparison which may fairly be made. This is the comparison between the United States Expeditionary Forces and the British Expeditionary Forces. Both countries devoted their major efforts to building up and maintaining their armies in France. The British curve mounts rapidly at first and falls off in the latter part of the period. The American starts slowly and then shoots up very rapidly. The British sent to France many more men in their first year in the war than we did in our first year. On the other hand, it took England three years to reach a strength of 2,000,000 men in France and the United States accomplished it in one-half of that time. It must, however, be borne in mind that the British had to use men from the beginning to fill gaps caused by casualties, while the American forces were for many months built up in strength by all the new arrivals.

The willingness with which the American people accepted the universal draft was the most remarkable feature in the history of our preparation for war. It is a noteworthy evidence of the enthusiastic support given by the country to the war program that, despite previous hostility to the principle of universal liability for military service, a few months after the selective service law was passed, the standing of the drafted soldier was fully as honorable in the estimation of his companions and of the country in general as was that of the man who enlisted voluntarily. Moreover, the record of desertions from the Army shows that the total was smaller than in previous wars and a smaller percentage occurred among drafted men than among those who volunteered. The selective service law was passed on May 19, 1917, and as subsequently amended it mobilized all the man power of the Nation from the ages of 18 to 45, inclusive. Under this act, 24,234,021 men were registered and slightly more than 2,800,000 were inducted into the military service. All this was accomplished in a manner that was fair to the men, supplied the Army with soldiers as rapidly as they could be equipped and trained, and resulted in a minimum of disturbance to the industrial and economic life of the Nation.

The first registration, June 5, 1917, covered the ages from 21 to 31. The second registration, one year later (June 5, 1918 and Aug. 24, 1918), included those who had become 21 years old since the first registration. The third registration (Sept. 12, 1918), extended the age limits downward to 18 and upward to 45.

FINANCIAL COST

For a period of 25 months, from April, 1917, through April, 1919, the war cost the United States considerably more than \$1,000,000 an hour. Treasury disbursements during the period reached a total of \$23,500,000,000 of which \$1,650,000,000 may be charged to the normal expenses which would have occurred in time of peace. The balance may be counted as the direct money cost of the war to the end of April, 1919, a sum of \$21,850,000,000. The figure is 20 times the pre-war national debt. It is nearly large enough to pay the entire costs of our Government from 1791 up to the outbreak of the European war. Our expenditure in this war was sufficient to have carried on the Revo-

lutionary War continuously for more than a thousand years at the rate of expenditure which that war actually involved.

In addition to this huge expenditure loans were advanced to the Allies at the rate of nearly half a million dollars an hour. Congress authorized for this purpose \$10,000,000,000, and there was actually paid to various Governments the sum of \$8,850,000,000.

Of the United States Government war costs, the Army was responsible for the expenditure of 64 per cent, or just short of two-thirds of the entire amount. Through April 30, 1919, there had been withdrawn from the Treasury on the Army account \$14,244,061,000. If there is deducted from this figure what would be the normal expenditure for a peace-time Army for a similar period there remains a total of \$13,930,000,000, directly chargeable to the war.

TRANSPORT SERVICE

During the 19 months of our participation in the war more than 2,000,000 American soldiers were carried to France. Half a million of them went over in the first 13 months and a million and a half in the last 6 months. Within a few weeks of our entrance into the war we began, at the earnest request of our co-belligerents, to ship troops overseas. At first the movement was not rapid. We had only a few American and British troop ships chartered directly from their owners. During the early winter, as the former German liners came into service, embarkations increased to a rate of nearly 50,000 per month, and by the end of 1917 had reached a total of 194,000.

Early in 1918 negotiations were entered into with the British Government by which three of its big liners and four of its smaller troop ships were definitely assigned to the service of the Army. The results of this are shown in the increased troop movement for March. It was in this month that the great German spring drive took place in Picardy, with a success that threatened to result in German victory. Every ship that could be secured was pressed into service. The aid furnished by the British was greatly increased. It was in May and the four following months that the transport miracle took place. The number of men carried in May was more than twice as great as the number for April. The June record was greater than that of May, and before the 1st of July, 1,000,000 men had been embarked.

The record for July exceeded all previous monthly totals, the number of troops carried being more than 306,000. Before the end of October the second million men had sailed from our shores. During many weeks in the summer the number carried was more than 10,000 men a day, and in July the total landed averaged more than 10,000 for every day of the month.

No such troop movement as that of the last summer had ever been contemplated, and no movement of any such number of persons by water for such a distance and such a time had ever previously occurred. The record has been excelled only by the achievement in bringing the same men back to the shores of the United States. The total number of soldiers brought home in May, 1919, was nearly 330,000. If we add to this the sailors and marines, the total is one-third of a million.

Credit for the troop movement must be shared with the Allies, and with the British in particular, since approximately half of the troops were carried in their ships.

Among every hundred men who went over, 49 went in British ships, 45 in American ships, 3 in those of Italy, 2 in French, and 1 in Russian shipping under English control. Part of the explanation for the large numbers of troops carried in American ships is to be found from the fact that our transports exceeded those of the Allies in the speed of their turnarounds.

The fastest United States ships averaged the round trip under 30 days. During the spring and summer of 1918 the *Leviathan* averaged less than 27 days, as did the *Mount Vernon*, the former *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*. These turnarounds, made under the embarrassment of convoy, are much quicker than anything

attained in commercial operation. During the summer the *Leviathan* transported troops at the rate of over 400 a day, and so landed the equivalent of a German division in France each month. Two American ships, the *Great Northern* and *Northern Pacific*, averaged 25 and 26 days, respectively, and have made turnarounds in 19 days.

The first shipment of cargo to support the forces abroad was made in June, 1917, and amounted to 16,000 tons. After the first two months the shipments grew rapidly and steadily until they were in excess of 800,000 tons in the last month of the war. The shipment of cargo differs from that of troops in that it was done almost entirely by United States ships. Less than 5 per cent of the cargo carried was transported in allied bottoms.

After the signing of the armistice every ship was withdrawn from the service as soon as it could be spared and put back into trades or the carrying of food for relief work in Europe.

AVIATION SERVICE

On the declaration of war the United States had 55 training airplanes, of which 51 were classified as obsolete and the other 4 as obsolescent.

When we entered the war the Allies made the designs of their planes available to us and before the end of hostilities furnished us from their own manufacture 3,800 service planes.

Aviation training schools in the United States graduated 8,602 men from elementary courses and 4,028 from advanced courses. More than 5,000 pilots and observers were sent overseas.

The total personnel of the Air Service, officers, students, and enlisted men, increased from 1,200 at the outbreak of the war to nearly 200,000 at its close.

There were produced in the United States to November 30, 1918, more than 8,000 training planes and more than 16,000 training engines.

The De Haviland-4 observation and day bombing plane was the only plane the United States put into quantity production. Before the signing of the armistice 3,227 had been completed and 1,885 shipped overseas. The plane was successfully used at the front for three months.

The production of the 12-cylinder Liberty engine was America's chief contribution to aviation. Before the armistice 13,574 had been completed, 4,435 shipped to the expeditionary forces, and 1,025 delivered to the Allies.

The first flyers in action wearing the American uniform were members of the Lafayette Escadrille, who were transferred to the American service in December, 1917.

The American air force at the front grew from 3 squadrons in April to 45 in November, 1918. On November 11 the 45 squadrons had an equipment of 740 planes.

Of 2,698 planes sent to the zone of the advance for American aviators, 667, or nearly one-fourth, were of American manufacture.

American air squadrons played important rôles in the battles of Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the Meuse-Argonne. They brought down in combat 755 enemy planes, while their own losses of planes numbered only 357.

BATTLE SERVICE

Two out of every three American soldiers who reached France took part in battle. The number who reached France was 2,084,000, and of these 1,390,000 saw active service in the front line.

American combat forces were organized into divisions, which consisted of some 28,000 officers and men. These divisions were the largest on the western front, since the British division numbered about 15,000 and those of the French and Germans about 12,000 each. There were sent overseas 42 American divisions and several hundred thousand supplementary artillery and service of supply troops.

American combat divisions were in battle for 200 days, from the 25th of

April, 1918, when the first Regular division after long training in quiet sectors, entered an active sector on the Picardy front, until the signing of the armistice. During these 200 days they were engaged in 13 major operations, of which 11 were joint enterprises with the French, British, and Italians, and 2 were distinctively American.

At the time of their greatest activity in the second week of October all 29 American divisions were in action. They then held 101 miles of front, or 23 per cent of the entire allied battle line. From the middle of August until the end of the war they held, during the greater part of the time, a front longer than that held by the British. Their strength tipped the balance of man power in favor of the Allies, so that from the middle of June, 1918, to the end of the war the allied forces were superior in number to those of the enemy.

Of every 100 American soldiers and sailors, who served in the war with Germany, two were killed or died of disease during the period of hostilities.

The total battle deaths of all nations in this war were greater than all the deaths in all the wars in the previous 100 years.

Russian battle deaths were 34 times as heavy as those of the United States, those of Germany 32 times as great, the French 28 times, and the British 18 times as large.

In the American Army the casualty rate in the Infantry was higher than in any other service, and that for officers was higher than for men.

For every man killed in battle seven were wounded.

Five out of every six men sent to hospitals on account of wounds were cured and returned to duty.

In the expeditionary forces battle losses were twice as large as deaths from disease.

In this war the death rate from disease was lower, and the death rate from battle was higher than in any other previous American war.

Inoculation, clean camps, and safe drinking water, practically eliminated typhoid fever among our troops in this war.

Pneumonia killed more soldiers than were killed in battle. Meningitis was the next most serious disease.

During the entire war available hospital facilities in the American Expeditionary Forces were in excess of the needs.

MAJOR OPERATIONS IN WHICH UNITED STATES TROOPS PARTICIPATED

Operation	Approximate number engaged
West front—Campaign of 1917:	
Cambrai, Nov. 20 to Dec. 4.....	1,200
West front—Campaign of 1918:	
German offensives, Mar. 21 to July 18—	
Somme, Mar. 21 to Apr. 6.....	2,200
Lys, Apr. 9 to 27.....	500
Aisne, May 27 to June 5.....	27,500
Noyon-Montdidier, June 9 to 15.....	27,000
Champagne-Marne, July 15 to 18.....	85,000
Allied offensives, July 18 to Nov. 11—	
Aisne-Marne, July 18 to Aug. 6.....	270,000
Somme, Aug. 8 to Nov. 11.....	54,000
Oise-Aisne, Aug. 18 to Nov. 11.....	85,000
Ypres-Lys, Aug. 19 to Nov. 11.....	108,000
St. Mihiel, Sept. 12 to 16.....	550,000
Meuse-Argonne, Sept. 20 to Nov. 11.....	1,200,000
Italian front—Campaign of 1918:	
Vittorio-Veneto, Oct. 24 to Nov. 4.....	1,200

UNITED STATES BATTLE CASUALTIES

Division	Battle deaths	Wounded
2nd.....	4,419	20,657
1st.....	4,204	19,141
3rd.....	3,102	15,052
28th.....	2,531	13,746
42nd.....	2,713	13,292
26th.....	2,168	13,000
4th.....	2,587	11,596
32nd.....	2,898	10,986
77th.....	1,990	9,966
27th.....	1,791	9,427
30th.....	1,652	9,429
5th.....	1,908	7,975
33rd.....	1,002	8,251
89th.....	1,419	7,394
82nd.....	1,338	6,890
78th.....	1,359	6,800
90th.....	1,387	6,623
35th.....	960	6,894
79th.....	1,396	6,194
80th.....	1,141	5,622
91st.....	1,390	5,106
29th.....	940	5,219
37th.....	992	4,931
36th.....	591	2,119
93rd.....	574	2,009
7th.....	302	1,516
92nd.....	185	1,495
81st.....	250	801
6th.....	97	479
88th.....	27	63
Not in divisions.....	1,596	6,058
Grand total.....	48,909	237,135

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

Sound of vowels as here marked is: ále, fáre, hár'm, tás'k, ám, sofá, éve, énd, íce, ill, óld, óbey, órb, ódd, cõbíne, úse, úrn, úp, foód, foót, out, oil, menú (this ú is between oo and é, nearer é).

Sound of consonants, when marked, is: g = hard g, as in get; k = guttural ch as in *loch* or German *ich*; n = nasal ng, as in French *bon*, n = ng, as in bank.

Accents are marked. Their general rule is: in French all syllables are equal with a faint extra accent on the final syllable; in Italian and Polish a slight accent marks the next to the last syllable; in English and German the antepenult or third from the closing end usually gets a strong accent, but this is by no means regular; in Russian and most Slavic tongues the accent is very strong and irregular.

THE WESTERN WAR

Aachen, á'kén'	Bohain, bô'án'
Aalst (<i>or</i> Alost), álst	Bouchain, bôō'shán'
Agincourt, á'zhán'kóör'; Eng. áj'In-kört	Bouillon, bôō'yôñ'
Aisne (river), án	Boulougne, bôō'lón'y'; Eng. bôō-lón'
Aix-la-Chapelle, áks'lá'shá'pél'	Bouvines, bôō'veñ'
Albert, ál'bár'	Boves, bôv
Alost (<i>or</i> Aalst), á'lóst	Brabant-le-roi, brá'bán'-lē-rwá'
Altkirch, ált'kirk'	Braine-le-Comte, brán'lé-kónt'
Amiens, á'myán'	Bray-sur-Seine, bré'-sür'sân'
Ancre (river), áñ'kr'	Briand, bré-än'
Argonne, ár'gón'	Briey, bré'ë'
Arlon, árlón'	Bruges, brúzh
Armentières, ár'män'tyár'	Calais, ká'lé'; Eng. kál'ä
Arras, á'rás'	Cambrai (<i>or</i> Canbray), kän'brë'
Artois, á'rtwá'	Carignan, ka'rén'yán'
Attigny, á'té'nyé'	Cateau, Le, lë ka'tó'
Aube (river), ób	Châlons-sur-Marne, shä'lón'-sür'-märn'
Aubenton, ó'bán'tón'	Chalon-sur-Saône, shá'lón'-sür'-sôñ'
Aubigny, ó'bé'nyé'	Champigny, shän'pë'nye'
Audenarde (<i>or</i> Oudenarde), ou'dé-när'de	Charleroi (<i>or</i> Charleroy), shár'lé-rwá'
Avesnes, á'vän'	Charleville, shárl'vel'
Avricourt, á'vré'kóör'	Châteauroux, shä'tó'rôö'
Bâle (<i>or</i> Basel), bäl	Château-Thierry, shä'tó'-tyë'rë'
Bapaume, bá'póm'	Châtêl, shä'tél'
Bar-le-Duc, bár'lé-dük'	Chatillon-sur-Marne, snä'té'yôñ'sür'-märn'
Basel (<i>or</i> Bâle), báz'él	Chaudefontaine, shöd'fôn'tän'
Bassée, La, lá'bá'sá'	Chaulnes, shô'n'
Bastogne, bäs'tón'y'	Chaumont, shô'môñ'
Bavay, bá've'	Chauny, shô'në'
Beaumont, bô'môñ'	Chimay, shé'më'
Beauvais, bô've'	Chiny, shé'në'
Belfort, bél'fôr'	Ciney, së'në'
Berlaimont, bér'lé'môñ'	Clary, klá'rë'
Bertincourt, bér'tán'kóör'	Clemenceau, clâ'män-sö'
Besançon, bé'zän'sôñ'	Combles, kôñ'bl'
Béthune, bá'tüñ'	Comines, kô'mëñ'
Blamont, blá'môñ'	Commercy, kô'më'r'së'

- Compiègne, kōn'pyēn'y'
Condé, kōn'dā'
Conflans, kōn'flān'
Coucy-le-Château, kōō'sē'-lē-shä'tō'
Coulommiers, kōō'lō'myāōō'
Courtrai, kōōr'trē'
Craonne, krā'ōn'
Crécy (*or* Cressy), krā'sē'; Eng. krēs'ī
Crécy-sur-Serre, krā-sē'-sür'-sār'
Croiselles, krwā'sēl'
Dammartin, dān'mār'tān'
Damvillers, dān've'yā'
Dégoutte, dā-güt'
Denain, dē-nān'
Dendermonde (*or* Termonde), dēn'dēr-mōn'dē
Diedenhofen (*or* Thionville), dē'dēn-hōfēn
Dijon, dē'zhōn'
Dinant, dē-nān'
Dixmude, dēks'müd'; dē'müd'
Dompaire, dōn'pär'
Dormans, dōr'män'
Douai (*or* Douay), dōō'a'
Doulens, dōō'lān'
Épernay, ā'pēr'nē'
Épinal, ā'pē'nāl'
Étain, ā'tān'
Fère, La, là' fār'
Fère-Champenoise, fār'-shän'pē-nwáz'
Fère-en-Tardenois, fār'-än'-tārd'nwā'
Ferté-Gaucher, La, là' fēr'tā'-gō'shā'
Ferté-sous-Jouarre, La, là' fēr'tā'-sōō'-zhōō'är'
Foch, fōsh
Fourmies, fōō'r'mē'
Fresnes-en-Woëvre, frēn'-än'-vō'ëv'r'
Genappe, zhē-náp'
Gironville, zhē'rōn'vel'
Givenchy, zhē'ven'shē'
Givet, zhē've'
Gorizia (*or* Görz), gō'rīd'zē-ä
Görz (*or* Gorizia), gūrts
Gravelotte, grāv'lōt'
Guiscard, gēz'kär'
Guise, güēz'
Hal, häl
Hautmont, ö'mōn'
Helgoland (*or* Heligoland), hēl'gō-länt
Hirson, ē'sōn'
Huy, hoi
Joffre, zhōf
Juniville, zhü'ne'vel'
La Bassée, là' bā'sā'
La Fère, là' fār'
- La Fère-Champenoise, là' fār'-shän'-pē-nwáz'
La Ferté-Gaucher, là' fēr'tā'-gō'shā'
La Ferté-sous Jouarre, là' fēr'tā'-sōō-zhōō'är'
Lagny, lān'yē'
Landrecies, lān'drä'sē'
Langres, lān'gr'
Languiion, lān'gē'ōn'
Laon, lāns
Le Cateau, lē' kā'tō'
Lens, lāns
Le Quesnoy, lē kā'nwā'
Liancourt, lē'ān'kōōr'
Liége, lē'ēzh'
Lierre, lē'är'
Ligny, lēn'yē'
Ligny-en-Barrois, lēn'yē'-än'-bā'rwa'
Lille (*or* Lisle), lēl
Longwy, lōn've'
Loos, lō'ōs'
Lorraine (*or* Lothringen), lō-rān'
Lothringen (*or* Lorraine), lōt'rīng-ĕn
Louvain, lōō'vān'
Lunéville, lü'nā'vel'
Lys (river), lēs
Mainz (*or* Mayence), mints
Maisons-Alfort, mā'zōn'-zāl'fōr'
Mangin, mān-zēn'
Marcoing, mār'kwān'
Maubeuge, mō'būzh'
Mayence (*or* Mainz), mā'yāns'
Meaux, mō
Melun, mē'lūn'
Messancy, mē-sān'sē'
Meuse (river), müz; Eng. müz
Mézières, mā'zyār'
Mons, mōns
Montdidier, mōn'dē'dyā'
Monthureux, mōn'tū'rū'
Montmédy, mōn'mā'dē'
Montmirail, mōn'mē'rā'y'
Moreuil, mō'rū'y'
Mouvaux, mōō'vō'
Moyenmoutier, mwā'yān'mōō'tyā'
Mülhausen, mūl'hou'zēn
Namur, nā'mür'
Nancy, nān'sē'; Eng. nān'sī
Nesle, nāl
Neufchâteau, nū'shā'tō'
Neuilly-sur-Marne, nū'yē'-sür'-mārn'
Neuve Chapelle, nūv'shā'pēl'
Nieuport, nē/oō-pōrt
Nîmes (*or* Nismes), nēm
Oise, wāz
Orchies, ör'shē'
Oudenarde (*or* Audenarde), ou'dē-när'-dē

Ourcq (river), oôrk
 Ourthe (river), oôrt
 Péronne, pâ'rôn'
 Petain, pa-tân'
 Philippeville, fê'lêp'vel'
 Pierrefitte, pyâr'fêt'
 Pierrefonds, pyâr'fôn'
 Poincaré, pwân-câ-râ'
 Poitiers, pwâ'tyâ'
 Poix, pwâ
 Pont-à-Mousson, pôñ'-tâ'-môô'zôn'
 Pont Ste. Maxence, pôñ' sâñt'-mâ'-zâñs'
 Quatre-Bras, kâ'tr'-brâ'
 Quesnoy, Le, lê kâ'nwâ'
 Ramillies, râ'mé'yé'
 Raon-l'Etape, rân'-lâ'táp'
 Raucourt, rô'kôôr'
 Rethel, rê-têl'
 Rheims (or Reims), rêmz; *Fr.* râñs
 Ribecourt, rêb'kôôr'
 Ribemont, rêb'môñ'
 Rochefort, rôsh'fôr'
 Rocroi, rô'krwâ'
 Roisel, rwa'zé'
 Roubaix, rôô'bâ'
 Roulers, rôô'lâ'
 Roye, rwâ
 Rozoy-sur-Serre, rô'zwâ'-sûr'-sâr'
 Saar (river), zâr
 Saarbrücken, zâr'brûk'én
 Saint-Amand, sân'tâ'mân'
 Saint-Denis, sân'dê-nê'
 Saint-Dié, sân'dyâ'
 Saint Hubert, sân'tû'bâr'
 Saint-Mihiel, sân'mê'yél'
 Saint-Omer, sân'tô'mâr'
 Saint-Quentin, sân'kän'tän'
 Saint-Trond, sân'-trôñ'
 Sambre (river), sân'br'
 Sedan, sê-dän'
 Senlis, sân'lës'

Sézanne, sâ'zân'
 Signy l'abbaye, sén'yé' läbâ'
 Sissonne, sê'sôn'
 Soissons, swâ'sôn'
 Solesmes, sô'lâm'
 Somme (river, department), sôm
 Suippes, swêp
 Termonde (or Dendermonde), têr'-mônd'
 Thiaucourt, tyô'kôôr'
 Thielt, têlt
 Thionville (or Diedenhofen), tyôñ'vôl'
 Thuin, tü'än'
 Tirlemont, têrl'môn'
 Tongres, tôñ'gr'
 Toul, tôôl
 Tourcoing, tôôr'kwän'
 Tournay (or Tournai), tôôr'nâ'
 Trélon, trâ'lôn'
 Trieste (or Triest), trê-ëst'
 Valenciennes, vâ'lân'syén'
 Varennes-en-Argonne, vâ'rén'-zän'
 âr'gôñ'
 Verdun, vê'r'dûn'
 Versailles, vê'r-sâ'y'; *Eng.* vêr-sâlz'
 Vervins, vêr'vän'
 Villers-Bretonneux, vê'lâr'-brê-tô'nû'
 Villers-Cotterets, vê'lâr'-kô'tê-re'
 Villers-la-Ville, vê'lâr'-lâ'-vôl'
 Visé, vê'zâ'
 Vitry-en-Artois, vê'trê'-än'-âr'twâ'
 Vitry-le-François, vê'trê'-le-frâñ'swâ'
 Vosges, vôzh
 Vouziers, voo'zyâ'
 Wassigny, vâ'sé'nye'
 Wavre, vâv'r'
 Woëvre, vô'ëv'r'
 Ypres, ê'pr'
 Yser (river), ê'sé'
 Yvoire, ê'vwâr'
 Zabern, tsâ'bêrn
 Zeebrugge, tsâ-broôg'ë

THE EASTERN WAR

Aidin, i-dêñ'
 Allenstein, âl'ëñ-shtîn'
 Ardahan, âr'dâ-hän'
 Augustowo, ou'goôs-tô'vô
 Baku, bâ-kôô'
 Batum, bâ-tôôm'
 Belgrade, bêl'grâd'
 Beuthen, boï'tën
 Bialystok, byä'lî-stôk
 Bosphorus (or Bosphorus), bôs'pô-rûs
 Botoshani, bô-tô-shâñ'y'
 Braila, brâ-ë'lâ
 Braunsberg, brounz'bêrk
 Brest-Litovsk, brêst'-lyë-tôfsk'
 Brusa (or Brussa), broô'sâ
 Brusiloff, broô-sê-lôf'
 Buczacz, bôô'chách
 Bug (river), bôôg
 Bukharest (or Bucharest), bôô'kâ-rëst'
 Bukowina (Bukovina), bôô'kô-vê'nâ
 Cernavoda (or Tchernavoda), chêr'nâ-vô'dâ
 Cetinje (or Cettinje), tsët'ëñ-yâ
 Constanta (or Kustendje), kôñ-stân'-tsâ
 Cracow (or Krakow), krâ'kô

Crajoba (*or* Craiova), krá-yō'vá
 Crimea, kří-mě'á; kří-mě'á
 Czenstochowa, chěn'stō-kó'vá
 Czernowitz, chěr'nō-vít's
 Danzig (*or* Dantzig), dān'tsík
 Dardanelles, dár'dá-něl's
 Delatyn (pass), dě-lá'tín
 Diarbekr (*or* Diarbekir), dě-är'bék'r
 Dnieper (river), ně'pér
 Dniester (river), něs'tér
 Drohobycz, drô-hó'bích
 Dubno, dôób'nō
 Dukla, dôok'lá
 Durazzo, dôórát'só
 Epirus, ē-pí'rús
 Eregli, ēr'ē-glé'
 Erivam, ēr'ē-ván'
 Erzerum, ērz-róóm'
 Erzingan, ēr'zín-gán'
 Euphrates (river), ü-fra'téz
 Eydtkuhnen, It-koo'nén
 Fiume, fyōō'má
 Galatz, gä'läts
 Galicia, gá-lísh'yá
 Gallipoli, gäl-lé'pó-lé
 Gleiwitz, gli'vets
 Gnesen, g'ná'zén
 Gumbinnen, góóm-bín'én
 Herzegovina, hěr'tsě-gó-vě'ná
 Horodenka, hō'ró-děj'ká
 Ivangorod, ē-ván'gō-rót
 Jamboli (*or* Yamboli), yám'bó-lé
 Jaroslaw (*or* Jaroslau), yá-rós'láf
 Jassy (*or* Yassy), yás'e
 Kaisarieh (*or* Kaisariyeh), ki'sá-ré'yé
 Kalisz, ká'lyksh
 Keltsy (*or* Kielce), kyěl'tsí
 Kholm, kólm
 Khotin, kó'tykn
 Kief (*or* Kiev), kě'yéf
 Kielce (*or* Keltsy), kyěl'tsě
 Kishinef (*or* Kishinev), kk-shk-nyéf'
 Kolomea, kó'ló-má'á
 Königsberg, kú'níks-bérk
 Kovel, kó'vel-y'
 Kragojevatz (*or* Kraguyevatz), krá-góó'-yé-váts
 Krakow (*or* Cracow), krá'kó
 Kremenchug (*or* Krementchug), krém'-én-chóók'
 Kremnitz, krém'níts
 Kur *or* Kura (river), koór; kóó'rá
 Kurisches Haff, kóó'rish-éš häf
 Kustendje (*or* Constanta), küs-těn'jé

Lemberg (*or* Lwów), lěmběrk
 Libau, lě'bou
 Lodz (*or* Lódz), lôdz; lóoj
 Lomza, lôm'zhá
 Lötzen, lút'sěn
 Lublin (*or* Lyublin), lyðó'blykr
 Lutzk (*or* Lutsk), lóótsk
 Lwów (*or* Lemberg), lvóof
 Mährisch-Ostrau, mā'rísh-óš'trou
 Marienburg, mä-ré'én-böörk
 Mitrovicza (*or* Mitrovitz), mě'trò-vkt'-sá
 Moldava (river), mół-dá'vá
 Monastir, móñ'ás-tér'
 Mush, móósh
 Nakhitchevan, ná'kk-chě-vän'
 Narew *or* Narev (river), nă'réf
 Neutitschein, noi'tít'shín
 Nikolaief (*or* Nikolayev), nyé'kó-lá'-yéf
 Novogeorgievsk, nô'vô-gé-óř'gk-yéfsk
 Olmütz, ól'müts
 Ostrog, ós-trók'
 Ostrow, ós'tróf
 Peremysl (*or* Przemysl), pě-rě'mišl-y'; pshé'mišl-y'
 Petrokov (*or* Piotrków), pyětró-kóf'
 Piotrków (*or* Petrokov), pyótr'kóóf
 Podgorze, pôd-gôó'zhě
 Pripet, pré'pět
 Prisrend, pré'zrěnt
 Proskurof (*or* Proskurov), pró'skóó-róf'
 Pruth (river), prôot
 Przasnysz, pshäs'nísh
 Przemysl (*or* Peremysl), pshé'mišl-y'
 Pultusk, pôó'lóósk
 Radom, rá'dóm
 Radzivilov, râd'zí'vk-lóf'
 Rastenburg, râs'těn-böörk'
 Rava (*or* Rawa), râ'vá
 Rawaruska, rä'vá-róos'ká
 Riga, ré'gá
 Rzeszow, zhě'shóof
 Saloniki (*or* Salonica), sá'ló-né'ké
 San (river), sán
 Sarajevo (*or* Sarayovo), sá'râ-yô-vô
 Scutari (*or* Skutari), skóó'tá-ré
 Seres, sě'rës
 Sereth (river), sá-ré't'
 Siedlce (*or* Syedlets), shěl'tsé
 Sinob (*or* Sinope), sě-nób'
 Sinope (*or* Sinob), sí-nó'pk
 Sivas, sě'väš'
 Skoplje (*or* Üsküp), skóp'lyé

Skutari (<i>or</i> Scutari), skoo'tä-re	Urmiah (<i>or</i> Urmia, Urumiah), oo'r-
Sofia (<i>or</i> Sophia), so'fē-ä; sō-fē'ä	mē'ä
Sokolof (<i>or</i> Sokolow), sō'kō-lōf'	Üsküp (<i>or</i> Üsküb, Skoplje), üs-küp'
Stettin, shṭē-tēn'	Valjevo (<i>or</i> Valyevo), vä'l'yg-vö
Stralsund, shträ'l'zoo'nt	Vistula (<i>or</i> Weichsel), vis'tf-lä
Stryj, strē'y'	Volga, völ'gä; Russ. vól'gä
Suwalki, sōo-väl'kk	Volhynia, völ-ln'i-ä
Swinemünde, svē'nē-mün'dē	
Syedlets (<i>or</i> Siedlce), syēd'lyëts	
Tabriz, tā-brēz'	Warta (<i>or</i> Warthe), vär'tē
Tarnopol, tár-nō'pōl-y'	Weichsel (<i>or</i> Vistula), vik'sel
Tarnow, tár'noof	
Tchernavoda (<i>or</i> Cernavoda), chér'nå-	Yassy (<i>or</i> Jassy), yäs'k
vô'dä	Zamosk (<i>or</i> Zamosc), zä'mōshch
Tomasof (<i>or</i> Tomaszow), tō-mä'sōof	Zittau, tsit'ou
	Zloczów, zlō'chōōf

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR

1914

June 28—Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary assassinated.
July 23—Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.
July 28—Austria declares war on Serbia.
July 29—Russia calls reserves to colors.
July 29—Bombardment of Belgrade.
Aug. 1—Germany declares war on Russia.
Aug. 1—France orders mobilization.
Aug. 2—Germans enter Luxembourg.
Aug. 2—German ultimatum to Belgium.
Aug. 2—First skirmish between Germans and Russians.
Aug. 2—First skirmish between Germans and French.
Aug. 3—Germany declares war on France.
Aug. 4—Germany invades Belgium.
Aug. 4—Great Britain declares war on Germany.
Aug. 4—Italy proclaims neutrality.
Aug. 5—Germans attack Liege.
Aug. 6—Austria declares war on Russia.
Aug. 8—Montenegro declares war on Austria.
Aug. 7-8—French invade Alsace taking Altkirch and Mulhausen.
Aug. 9—Germans take Liege.
Aug. 9—Serbia declares war on Germany.
Aug. 10—France declares war on Austria.
Aug. 11—Germans enter France through Luxembourg.
Aug. 11—French driven from Mulhausen.
Aug. 12—Great Britain declares war on Austria-Hungary.
Aug. 12—Montenegro declares war on Germany.

Aug. 16-23—Serbians defeat Austrians in battle of the Jadar.
Aug. 19—Belgians defeated before Louvain.
Aug. 20—Germans enter Brussels.
Aug. 20-21—Russians defeat Germans at Gumbinnen.
Aug. 22—Germans take Namur.
Aug. 23—British and French defeated at Mons and Charleroi.
Aug. 23—Japan declares war on Germany.
Aug. 23-Sept. 6—Retreat of British-French, Mons to the Marne.
Aug. 23-26—Austrians defeat Russians at battle of Krasnik.
Aug. 25—Austria declares war on Japan.
Aug. 26—Germans surrender Togoland.
Aug. 26—First bomb dropped from Zeppelin on Antwerp.
Aug. 27—Surrender of Longwy.
Aug. 27—Burning of Louvain.
Aug. 28—Naval battle of Helgoland.
Aug. 28—Austria declares war on Belgium.
Aug. 29-31—Germans defeat Russians in battle of Tannenberg.
Sept. 2—Japanese land on Shantung peninsula.
Sept. 2—Russians take Lemberg.
Sept. 4-8—Russians defeat Austrians, Rawaruska and Tomasov.
Sept. 5-10—Battle of the Marne.
Sept. 9—Surrender of Maubeuge.
Sept. 7-13—Germans defeat Russians in East Prussia.
Sept. 12-15—Battle of the Aisne.
Sept. 13—French retake Rheims.
Sept. 16—Germans bombard Rheims cathedral.
Sept. 22—British cruisers “Aboukir,” “Cressy” and “Hogue” sunk by submarine.
Sept. 26—Germans take St. Mihiel.
Sept. 27-Oct. 3—Battle of the Niemen and Augustowa.

- Sept. 29-30—Battle of Tarnow.
 Oct. 9—Capture of Antwerp.
 Oct. 10-12—Battle of Lille.
 Oct. 12—Germans capture Ghent.
 Oct. 13—Germans take Lille.
 Oct. 14—Germans take Bruges.
 Oct. 15—Germans take Ostend.
 Oct. 15-23—Battle of Warsaw.
 Oct. 17-Nov. 11—Battle of Ypres and the Yser.
 Oct. 18—Battle of destroyers off Dutch coast.
 Oct. 26—Italians occupy Avlona, Albania.
 Oct. 29—Turkey begins hostilities against Russia.
 Nov. 1—Sea battle off Coronel, Chili.
 Nov. 4—British attack on Tanga, German East Africa, defeated.
 Nov. 5—Great Britain declares war on Turkey.
 Nov. 7—Japanese take Tsing-tau.
 Nov. 9—German cruiser "Emden" destroyed.
 Nov. 16—German success on Plock-Warthe line, Poland.
 Nov. 19-28—Battle of Lodz.
 Nov. 23—Portugal joins the Allies.
 Dec. 2—Austrians take Belgrade.
 Dec. 6—Germans take Lodz.
 Dec. 6-14—Serbians defeat Austrians; retake Belgrade.
 Dec. 8—Naval battle off Falkland Islands.
 Dec. 9—British advance in Mesopotamia.
 Dec. 16—German raid on Scarborough, England.
 Dec. 17—British proclaim protectorate over Egypt.
 Dec. 18—Germans take Lowicz.
 Dec. 25—British sea and air raid on Cuxhaven.

1915

- Jan. 3-4—Turkish defeat in the Caucasus.
 Jan. 3—French take Steinbach.
 Jan. 14—French defeated at Soissons.
 Jan. 17—Russians take Kirlibaba pass.
 Jan. 24—Naval battle off Dogger Bank.
 Feb. 4—Germans proclaim submarine blockade of British Isles to begin February 18th.
 Feb. 2-3—Turks attack Suez Canal.
- Feb. 10—President Wilson's strict accountability note to Germany.
 Feb. 11-12—Russians driven from East Prussia.
 Feb. 16—French take Perthes.
 Feb. 18—Austrians take Czernowitz.
 Feb. 19—Naval attack on Dardanelles forts.
 Feb. 25—Second naval attack on Dardanelles.
 Feb. 28-Mar. 1—Russian offensive in Northern Poland.
 Mar. 10—German cruiser "Prinz Eitel Friedrich" enters Newport News.
 Mar. 10-12—Battle of Neuve Chappelle.
 Mar. 18—Third naval attack on Dardanelles forts; three battleships sunk.
 Mar. 20—Russians take Memel.
 Mar. 22—Surrender of Przemysl and Austrian army.
 Mar. 28—Passenger steamer "Falaba" sunk by submarine; 111 lost.
 Apr. 4—Russians through the Beskid range, Hungary.
 Apr. 4-9—Battle of Les Eparges.
 Apr. 11—German cruiser "Kronprinz Wilhelm" enters Hampton Roads.
 Apr. 22-24—Second battle of Ypres (St. Julien); first use of gas.
 Apr. 23—British victory at Shaiba, Mesopotamia.
 Apr. 25—British and French land on Gallipoli.
 Apr. 30—Germans advance into Kovno and Courland.
 May 2—American ship "Gulfflight" torpedoed.
 May 2—Germans take Shavli.
 May 2—Battle of Gorlice; Russian front broken in Galicia.
 May 7—"Lusitania" sunk.
 May 11—French take Carenty and Notre Dame de Lorette.
 May 13—President Wilson protests "Lusitania" sinking.
 May 15-17—Battle of the San.
 May 16—Four Zeppelins destroyed in air raid on England.
 May 16—Battle of Festubert.
 May 23—Italy declares war on Austria.
 June 2—Germans retake Przemysl.
 June 9—Second American note on submarine sinkings.

- June 20—German victory at Rawaruska.
- June 22—Austrians retake Lemberg.
- June 28—United States protests sinking of the "Frye."
- July 2-4—Battle at Krasnik.
- July 9—German Southwest Africa surrendered to Anglo-Boer force.
- July 14—German offensive in North Poland.
- July 23—Third American note on submarines.
- Aug. 4—Russians evacuate Warsaw.
- Aug. 10—Allied attack in Gallipoli fails.
- Aug. 15—American reply to Austria-Hungary protest on arms traffic.
- Aug. 18—Germans take Kovno.
- Aug. 19—"Arabic" torpedoed.
- Aug. 19—Germans take Novogeorgievsk.
- Aug. 21—Italy declares war on Turkey.
- Aug. 26—Germans take Bialystok and Brest-Litovsk.
- Sept. 1—Austrians take Lutsk.
- Sept. 2—Germans take Grodno.
- Sept. 8—Grand Duke Nicholas removed from command of Russian armies.
- Sept. 9—American note on "Arabic" sinking.
- Sept. 9—United States demands recall of Austrian Ambassador Dumba.
- Sept. 9—Russian success on Sereth River.
- Sept. 9—Austrians take Dubno.
- Sept. 18—Germans take Vilna.
- Sept. 22—Bulgaria orders mobilization.
- Sept. 25—Battle of Loos.
- Sept. 25—Battle of Champagne.
- Oct. 3—Russian ultimatum to Bulgaria.
- Oct. 5—German reply in "Arabic" case concedes American points.
- Oct. 6—German-Austrian offensive against Serbia; Danube crossed.
- Oct. 8—Belgrade taken.
- Oct. 12—Bulgarians invade Serbia.
- Oct. 13—Execution of Edith Cavell.
- Oct. 14—Bulgaria declares war on Serbia.
- Oct. 15—Britain declares war on Bulgaria.
- Oct. 22—Greece refuses offer of Great Britain to cede Cyprus.
- Oct. 24—Bulgarians take Uskub.
- Oct. 28—Viviani resigns as premier of France.
- Oct. 29—Italian attack on the Isonzo.
- Nov. 5—Bulgarians take Nish.
- Nov. 9—Italian liner "Ancona" torpedoed.
- Nov. 22-24—Battle of Ctesiphon, Mesopotamia.
- Nov. 30—Second Italian attack on the Isonzo.
- Dec. 3—United States demands recall of Boy-Ed and Von Papen.
- Dec. 3-12—Anglo-French troops defeated on Vardar.
- Dec. 5—Bulgarians take Monastir.
- Dec. 6—British retreat to Kut-el-Amara.
- Dec. 11—United States protests "Ancona" sinking.
- Dec. 15—Sir Douglas Haig succeeds Sir John French in command of British.
- Dec. 20—British withdraw from Gallipoli.
- Dec. 21-22—French take Hartmans-Weilerkopf.
- Dec. 27—British defeat Arab revolt in West Egypt.
- Dec. 30—Liner "Persia" sunk.

1916

- Jan. 13—Austrians take Cettinje, Montenegro.
- Jan. 16—Russians begin drive in Caucasus.
- Jan. 19—King Nicholas of Montenegro flees.
- Feb. 16—Russians take Erzerum.
- Feb. 18—Allied conquest of Cappadocia.
- Feb. 20—German offensive at Verdun begun.
- Feb. 26—Germans take Fort Douaumont.
- Mar. 15—Von Tirpitz retires as head of German navy.
- Mar. 24—Steamer "Sussex" torpedoed.
- Mar. 26—British naval air raid on Jutland.
- Mar. 31—Russian hospital ship "Portugal" sunk.

- Apr. 18—Russians take Trebizonde.
 Apr. 19—President Wilson's "Sussex" note.
 Apr. 21—Arrest of Sir Roger Casement.
 Apr. 24—Irish rebellion.
 Apr. 28—General Townshend surrenders British force at Kut-el-Amara.
 May 1—Dublin rebels surrender.
 May 5—Germany promises to stop sinkings without warning.
 May 15—Austrian drive in Trentino begun.
 May 23—British Commons adopt conscription.
 May 27—Austrians take Asiago.
 May 31—Naval battle off Jutland.
 June 1-7—German drive on Douaumont-Vaux.
 June 2-16—Third battle of Ypres.
 June 4-Aug. 15—Russian offensive from Prripet to Roumania.
 June 6—Lord Kitchener drowned by sinking of cruiser "Hampshire."
 June 6—Russians take Lutsk.
 June 7—Germans take Fort Vaux.
 June 10—Russians take Dubno.
 June 13—Sheriff of Mecca revolts from Turkey.
 June 17—Russians take Czernowitz.
 June 25—Russians complete conquest of Bukowina.
 July 1—First battle of the Somme begun.
 July 9—German merchant submarine "Deutschland" arrives at Baltimore.
 July 11—British take Contalmaison.
 July 26—Russians take Erzingam.
 Aug. 4—Roger Casement executed.
 Aug. 4—French retake Fleury and Thiaumont.
 Aug. 9—Italians take Gorizia.
 Aug. 11—Italians take Carso plateau.
 Aug. 18—Bulgarians invade Northern Greece.
 Aug. 27—Italy declares war on Germany.
 Aug. 27—Bulgarians enter Greek Macedonia.
 Aug. 28—Rumania declares war on Austria.
 Aug. 29—Hindenburg becomes German chief of staff.
 Aug. 30—Rumanians take Kronstadt.
 Sept. 2—Rumanians take Hermannstadt.
- Sept. 2-8—Bulgarians defeat Rumanians in Dobrudja.
 Sept. 6—Russian victory near Halicz.
 Sept. 15—First use of British tanks.
 Sept. 19-23—Rumanians defeated at Vulcan Pass.
 Sept. 26—British take Combles and Thiepval.
 Oct. 7—German submarine "U-53" enters Newport.
 Oct. 8—"U-53" sinks six ships off Massachusetts coast.
 Oct. 11-13—Italian advance on the Carso.
 Oct. 17—Allies take over Greek fleet and land forces.
 Oct. 23—Rumanians lose Constantza.
 Oct. 24—French retake Fort Douaumont.
 Nov. 1—Merchant submarine "Deutschland" arrives at New London.
 Nov. 15-17—Rumanians defeated in battle of Tigră-Juil.
 Nov. 19—Serbians take Monastir.
 Nov. 21—Emperor Francis Joseph dies; Carl succeeds.
 Nov. 25—French retake Fort Vaux.
 Nov. 29—Sir David Beatty succeeds Sir John Jellicoe in command of British fleet.
 Dec. 2—Entente troops move on Athens.
 Dec. 3—Rumanians beaten in battle of Argechu.
 Dec. 5—Asquith resigns as premier of Britain.
 Dec. 6—Teutonic allies take Bucharest.
 Dec. 10—Lloyd George forms ministry.
 Dec. 11—Nivelle succeeds Joffre in command of French.
 Dec. 15—Brilliant French victory north of Verdun.

1917

- Jan. 11—Entente reply to U. S. on aims.
 Jan. 11—British take Rafa, Sinai Peninsula.
 Jan. 31—Germany announces resumption of submarine ruthlessness after Feb. 1st.
 Feb. 3—United States announces severance of diplomatic relation with Germany.

- Feb. 3-5—British advance on the Ancre.
- Feb. 7—"California" torpedoed.
- Feb. 24—German withdrawal on Somme detected.
- Feb. 24—British take Sanna-y-Yat.
- Feb. 25—"Laconia" sunk.
- Feb. 25—British take Kut-el-Amara.
- Feb. 26—President Wilson asks authority to arm U. S. merchant ships.
- Feb. 28—Zimmerman's Mexican plot exposed.
- Mar. 9—President Wilson orders arming of merchant ships.
- Mar. 9-11—Revolutionary riots in Petrograd.
- Mar. 11—British take Bagdad.
- Mar. 15—Czar Nicholas abdicates; republic organized, Lvoff premier.
- Mar. 17—British take Bapaume and Chaulnes; French Roye and Lassigny.
- Mar. 17—Briand cabinet resigns.
- Mar. 18—Péronne and Nesle taken.
- Mar. 19—French take Chauny and Ham.
- Mar. 24—French before LeFère.
- Mar. 31—British before Hindenburg line.
- Apr. 1—French take Vauxaillon.
- Apr. 2—American armed steamer "Aztec" torpedoed, 11 drowned.
- Apr. 2—President asks Congress to declare war.
- Apr. 4—Senate passes war resolution.
- Apr. 4—Germans defeat Russians on the Stokhod.
- Apr. 6—House passes war resolution.
- Apr. 6—President proclaims war.
- Apr. 7—Cuba declares war.
- Apr. 9—Austria-Hungary severs diplomatic relations with United States.
- Apr. 9—British take Vimy ridge.
- Apr. 10—Brazil severs diplomatic relations with Germany.
- Apr. 14—British take Lievin.
- Apr. 14-17—Congress passes \$7,000,000 war bond bill.
- Apr. 16—Nivelle's offensive begun.
- Apr. 18—French take Vailly.
- Apr. 19—French take Fort de Conde.
- Apr. 22—Hospital ships "Lanfranc" and "Donegal" torpedoed.
- Apr. 28—Congress passes conscription bill.
- May 4—French take Craonne.
- May 4—First squadron U. S. navy reaches England.
- May 5—French take Chemin des Dames.
- May 7—Greek Venizelist troops first go into action beside Allies.
- May 12-31—Italian offensive on the Isonzo.
- May 14—President calls for forty-four new regiments of regulars.
- May 29—Hospital ship "Dover Castle" torpedoed.
- June 5—First conscription registration day in United States.
- June 7—British take Messines ridge.
- June 9—President's note to Russia on war aims.
- June 12—King Constantine of Greece abdicates.
- June 12—Congress passes espionage act.
- June 13—General Pershing arrives in France.
- June 13—Root commission reaches Petrograd.
- June 26-27—First United States contingent lands in France.
- June 28—Brazil revokes neutrality.
- July 1—Russians begin offensive in Galicia.
- July 2—Greece declares war.
- July 9—Mobilization of national guard ordered.
- July 8-10—Russians win battle of Dolina.
- July 11—British reverse on Yser.
- July 14-21—Congress passes \$640,000,000 aviation bill.
- July 19—German counter-offensive breaks Russian front in Galicia.
- July 20—First draft drawing.
- July 22—Kerensky succeeds Lvoff as premier of Russia.
- July 22—Russian soldiers in Galicia refuse obedience and start flight.
- July 23—Germans take Tarnopol.
- July 23—Council of workmen and soldiers makes Kerensky dictator.
- July 25—Rumanians take offensive.
- July 31—Allies begin Fourth battle of Ypres.

- Aug. 2—Brusiloff and Dimitrieff resign.
- Aug. 7—Liberia declares war on Germany.
- Aug. 10-11—Second British advance at Ypres.
- Aug. 14—Pope makes peace proposal.
- Aug. 14—China declares war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.
- Aug. 15-16—Third advance at Ypres; Langemarck and Hill 70 taken.
- Aug. 18-24—Italian offensive on Isonzo; take Bainsizza plateau, Monte Santo and Monte San Gabriele.
- Aug. 19-20—Fourth advance at Ypres.
- Aug. 20—French take Dead Man's Hill.
- Aug. 24—French take Hill 304, Verdon.
- Aug. 25-27—Moscow conference.
- Aug. 28—President rejects Pope's peace plan.
- Sept. 3—Germans take Riga.
- Sept. 8—Luxburg sink-without-trace dispatch disclosed.
- Sept. 8—Korniloff rebels against Kerensky.
- Sept. 15—Korniloff surrenders to Alexieff.
- Sept. 20—Fifth British advance at Ypres.
- Sept. 22—Germans take Jacobstadt.
- Sept. 26—Sixth advance at Ypres; take Zonnebeke and Polygon wood.
- Oct. 4—Seventh advance at Ypres; Poelcapelle taken.
- Oct. 9—Eighth advance at Ypres.
- Oct. 12—Ninth advance at Ypres.
- Oct. 13—Germans land on Oesel Island, Baltic Sea.
- Oct. 18—Battle of German and Russian fleets in Moon Sound.
- Oct. 20—Five Zeppelins destroyed in raid on London.
- Oct. 22—Tenth advance at Ypres.
- Oct. 23—French take Fort de Malmaison.
- Oct. 21-23—Battle of Caporetto; Italian front broken.
- Oct. 25—French drive Germans across the Ailette.
- Oct. 26—Brazil declares war on Germany.
- Oct. 26-30—Eleventh advance at Ypres.
- Oct. 28—Gorizia retaken by Austrians; Bainsizza and Carso lost.
- Oct. 30—Austrians take Udine.
- Oct. 31—British take Beersheba, Palestine.
- Nov. 3—First American trench fight on Rhine-Marne canal.
- Nov. 6—British take Passchendaele.
- Nov. 6—British take Gaza.
- Nov. 7—Kerensky overthrown by Bolsheviks.
- Nov. 8—Italians defeated on the Tagliamento.
- Nov. 9—General Diaz succeeds Caudorna in command of Italians.
- Nov. 10—British advance on Passchendaele ridge.
- Nov. 10—British take Askalon.
- Nov. 16-17—Kerensky forces defeated by Bolsheviks.
- Nov. 17—British gain on Passchendaele ridge.
- Nov. 18-19—Battle of the Piave; Italians hold.
- Nov. 18—British take Jaffa.
- Nov. 19—Death of General Cyril Maude.
- Nov. 20—Battle of Monte Tomba.
- Nov. 20—British attack at Cambrai.
- Nov. 30-Dec. 7—German counter-attack at Cambrai.
- Dec. 7—United States declares war on Austria-Hungary.
- Dec. 7—Rumania agrees to armistice.
- Dec. 8—Trotsky announces suspension of hostilities.
- Dec. 8—U. S. destroyer "Jacob Jones" torpedoed.
- Dec. 10—British take Jerusalem.
- Dec. 14—Germans and Bolsheviks sign armistice.
- Dec. 19-21—Battle of Monte Asolone.
- Dec. 28—Provisional peace agreement between Bolsheviks and Germans.

1918

- Jan. 8—President's speech stating fourteen peace articles.
- Jan. 20—Bolsheviks dissolve Constituent Assembly.
- Jan. 20—"Breslau" sunk in naval battle off Dardanelles.
- Jan. 24-28—Italian success on Asiago plateau.

- Feb. 6—"Tuscania" torpedoed; 212 American soldiers lost.
- Feb. 9—Ukraine government signs separate peace.
- Feb. 11—Bolsheviki declare end of war.
- Feb. 16—Sir Henry Hughes Wilson succeeds Sir William Robertson as British chief of staff.
- Feb. 17—Germans announce end of armistice with Bolsheviki.
- Feb. 18—Germans advance across the Dvina.
- Feb. 19—Germans take Dvinsk and Lutsk.
- Feb. 20—Germans enter Esthonia.
- Feb. 22—British take Jericho.
- Feb. 23—New German terms to Bolsheviki.
- Feb. 25—Germans take Reval and Pskov.
- Feb. 27—Hospital ship "Glenart Castle" torpedoed; 164 lost.
- Mar. 1—Austrian armies enter Ukraine.
- Mar. 3—Bolsheviki agree to German terms.
- Mar. 7—Peace treaty with Rumania.
- Mar. 10—Germans land in Finland.
- Mar. 13—Austrians take Odessa.
- Mar. 21—German drive on Cambrai—Saint Quentin front begins.
- Mar. 23—Germans first shell Paris with 76-mile gun.
- Mar. 24—Germans take Ham and Chauny.
- Mar. 25—Germans take Bapaume.
- Mar. 26—Germans take Noyon and Roye.
- Mar. 27—Germans take Albert.
- Mar. 28—Germans take Montdidier.
- Mar. 28—Germans repulsed before Arras.
- Mar. 28—British defeat Turks at Hit, Mesopotamia.
- Mar. 29—Foch appointed Allied generalissimo.
- Mar. 30—Germans take Grivesnes, Moreuil and Demuin.
- Mar. 31—Moreuil and Demuin retaken.
- Apr. 5—Japanese land at Vladivostok.
- Apr. 6-7—Germans advance from Chauny; take Folembray and Pierremont.
- Apr. 9—German drive at Armentières begun.
- Apr. 11—Germans take Armentières.
- Apr. 12—Haig's back-to-wall order.
- Apr. 14—British and French land on Kola Peninsula.
- Apr. 16—Germans take Bailleul and Wytschaete; British retire from Passchendaele.
- Apr. 17—French reinforce British on the Lys.
- Apr. 20—Americans repulse German raid at Seicheprey.
- Apr. 23—British naval raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend.
- Apr. 25-26—Germans take Mont Kemmel.
- Apr. 26—Americans in line on Picardy front.
- Apr. 27-28—Battle at Loire and Voormezeele; British again withdraw before Ypres.
- Apr. 29—General German attack on Lys sector repulsed.
- May 10—Second British naval raid on Ostend.
- May 16—Italian naval raid on Pola sinks battleship.
- May 27—Germans take Chemin des Dames.
- May 28—Germans advance to the Vesle.
- May 28—First American offensive; take Cantigny.
- May 29—Germans take Soissons.
- May 30—Germans cross the Ourcq.
- May 31—Germans reach the Marne.
- May 31—"President Lincoln" sunk; 26 lost.
- May 31—German counter-attacks on Cagny repulsed by Americans.
- June 2—Germans take Château-Thierry.
- June 2—American marines reach front at Château-Thierry.
- June 3—Submarine off American coast sinks "Carolina" and other ships.
- June 6-7-10-11—American marines take Belleau Wood.
- June 9—German drive, Montdidier to Noyon.
- June 15-23—Austrian drive on Piave.
- June 25—Austrians driven across Piave.
- June 26—Americans take Belleau ridge.
- June 30—Italians take Monte de Valbella and Monte del Rosso.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR

- July 1—Hospital ship "Llandovery Castle" sunk; 234 lost.
- July 1—Americans take Vaux.
- July 4—Czecho-Slovaks take Vladivostok.
- July 6—Italians clear Piave delta.
- July 7—German ambassador at Moscow assassinated.
- July 7-12—Italians advance in Albania.
- July 15—Germans begin Marne-Champagne drive.
- July 18—Allied counter-attack on Aisne and Marne.
- July 19—Cruiser "San Diego" sunk off Long Island.
- July 20—Germans recross the Marne.
- July 21—Château-Thierry recaptured.
- July 27—Germans retire to the Ourcq.
- July 28—Allies take Fère-en-Tardenois.
- July 29-30—Battle of Sergy.
- Aug. 2—French take Soissons.
- Aug. 3—Germans retire across the Vesle.
- Aug. 4—Americans take Fismes.
- Aug. 5—Allies land at Archangel.
- Aug. 6—Foch made marshal.
- Aug. 7—Allies cross Vesle.
- Aug. 8—Allied drive on Amiens front begun.
- Aug. 9—Americans take Fismette.
- Aug. 10—Montdidier retaken.
- Aug. 11—Nine fishing boats sunk off Massachusetts coast.
- Aug. 14—French take Ribecourt.
- Aug. 14—American troops land at Vladivostok.
- Aug. 14—British reach Baku.
- Aug. 19—French begin drive south of the Oise.
- Aug. 21—French take Lassigny.
- Aug. 21—British attack Albert to Arras.
- Aug. 21—Germans driven across Oise.
- Aug. 22—British take Albert.
- Aug. 22—Bolsheviki declare war exists with United States.
- Aug. 24—British take Bray and Thiepval.
- Aug. 24—Austrians retake Berat.
- Aug. 27—French take Roye and Nesle.
- Aug. 28—Chaulnes retaken.
- Aug. 28-29—Americans attack Juvigny.
- Aug. 29—Noyon retaken.
- Aug. 29—British recross the Somme.
- Aug. 29—Americans lose Fismette and Bazoches.
- Aug. 30—British take Combles.
- Aug. 30—British retake Bailleul.
- Aug. 31—British retake Mont Kemmel.
- Aug. 31-Sept. 2—Japanese defeat Bolsheviks on Ussuri River.
- Sept. 1—British take Péronne.
- Sept. 2—British break Drocourt-Queant line.
- Sept. 5—French recover Aisne-Ailette line.
- Sept. 6—Germans retreat to Hindenburg line.
- Sept. 7—French take Fort de Conde.
- Sept. 12—Americans take St. Mihiel salient.
- Sept. 14—Drive on Macedonian front begun.
- Sept. 16—French take Vailly.
- Sept. 18—British attack Cambrai-St. Quentin front.
- Sept. 20—Turks defeated north of Jerusalem.
- Sept. 22—British take Nazareth.
- Sept. 23—Serbians reach the Vardar.
- Sept. 24—British take Haifa and Acre.
- Sept. 26—American campaign on the Meuse begun.
- Sept. 26—French drive in Champagne.
- Sept. 27—Bulgarians ask armistice.
- Sept. 27—British attack on Hindenburg line.
- Sept. 29-30—27th American division goes through Hindenburg line near Le Catelet.
- Sept. 29—French take Fort de Malmaison.
- Sept. 29—Belgians begin drive; take Houthoult forest.
- Sept. 30—Bulgaria surrenders.
- Sept. 30—Messines ridge retaken.
- Sept. 30—Turks surrender west of Jordan.
- Oct. 1—British take Damascus.
- Oct. 2—St. Quentin taken.
- Oct. 3—British go through Hindenburg line north of St. Quentin.
- Oct. 3—French take Challerange.
- Oct. 3—Le Catelet taken.
- Oct. 3—Lens and Armentieres retaken.
- Oct. 4—Naval attack on Durazzo.
- Oct. 6-19—American advance on the Meuse.
- Oct. 5—King Ferdinand of Bulgaria abdicates.

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| Oct. 6—Germany asks peace on Wilson's terms. | Oct. 28—Austria sends note to Wilson accepting terms and asking armistice. |
| Oct. 7—Germans retreat north of Rheims. | Oct. 30—Italians take Vittorio. |
| Oct. 7—Battle of St. Souplet. | Oct. 30—British defeat Turks on the Tigris. |
| Oct. 8—Cambrai-St. Quentin front smashed. | Oct. 31—Turkey surrenders. |
| Oct. 10—Le Cateau taken. | Oct. 31—Austria sends commissioners to Diaz. |
| Oct. 12—Germany again offers to accept Wilson's terms. | Nov. 1—Americans again attack on the Meuse. |
| Oct. 12—French take Craonne and Vouziers. | Nov. 3—Italians occupy Trent, Rovereto and Trieste. |
| Oct. 13—Serbiens take Nish. | Nov. 3—Austria surrenders. |
| Oct. 14—Roulers taken. | Nov. 3—British take Valenciennes. |
| Oct. 15—Menin and Thourout taken. | Nov. 3—Serbiens take Belgrade. |
| Oct. 15—Americans break Kriemhilde line. | Nov. 3—Count Tisza assassinated. |
| Oct. 15—Americans take Grand Pré. | Nov. 4—Allied war council agrees on armistice terms. |
| Oct. 17—Ostend, Courtrai and Lille retaken. | Nov. 4—British success on Valenciennes sector. |
| Oct. 18—Bruges, Zeebrugge and Thiel taken. | Nov. 4—Italians take Scutari. |
| Oct. 18—Turcoing, Roubaix and Douai taken. | Nov. 4—Americans cross the Meuse and take Dun. |
| Oct. 21—Americans take Hill 299 and Bois de Rappa. | Nov. 7—Rebellion in German navy. |
| Oct. 22—British reach the Scheldt. | Nov. 7—Americans reach Sedan. |
| Oct. 23—Wilson's reply to Germany. | Nov. 9—Kaiser abdicates. |
| Oct. 23—Americans take Brieulles, Hills 297, 299 and 281. | Nov. 9—British take Tournai and Maubeuge. |
| Oct. 25—Italians begin offensive on the Piave. | Nov. 11—British take Mons. |
| Oct. 27—German note; await Allies' terms. | Nov. 11, 11 A. M.—ARMISTICE. |
| Oct. 27—Ludendorff resigns. | Nov. 12—Republic proclaimed in Berlin. |
| Oct. 27—Italians cross the Piave. | Nov. 19—French enter Metz. |
| Oct. 27—British take Aleppo. | Nov. 21—German fleet surrenders. |
| | Dec. 1—Ally armies enter Germany. |

CHRONOLOGY OF U. S. MILITARY OPERATIONS

From General March's Official Report to the United States Secretary of War

(Earlier operations were not under United States' command. The troops were officially under French or British command.)

1918

April 28-29—A sector in the vicinity of Breteuil, northwest of Montdidier, was occupied by the First Division.

May 28—Cantigny was captured by the First Division. A detachment of our troops, reinforced by French artillery, successfully attacked the enemy on a front of about 2,200 yards. We occupied Cantigny, captured some 200 prisoners, and inflicted severe losses on the enemy.

June 10—The Second Division attacked in Bois de Belleau, advancing the line 900 yards on a front of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, capturing 300 prisoners, 30 machine guns, 4 trench mortars, and stores of small arms, ammunition, and equipment. Held all of Hill 204 down to the village on the northeast slope, thus preventing the enemy from concentrating his forces in the northern part of Château-Thierry.

June 11—The Second Division continued its advance in the Bois de Belleau, capturing more prisoners and machine guns and two 77 mm. fieldpieces.

Our aviators executed their first bombing raid, dropping numerous bombs on the railway station at Dommary-Baroncourt, northwest of Metz. All of our planes returned in safety.

The artillery of the Second Division shelled the enemy in their areas, preventing concentration near Torcy, Monthiârs, Hill 128, and La Gontrie farm. It discovered and dispersed a group of 210 machine guns in the wood south of Etrepp-

illy. The Second Division captured the last of the German positions in the Bois de Belleau, taking 50 prisoners, machine guns, and trench mortars.

July 18—French and American troops advanced under the cover of a heavy storm on the front between Soissons and Château-Thierry. The greatest advance was in the northern part of the sector, where a depth of 5 miles was attained, and we reached the heights southwest of Soissons, dominating the railroad and highways.

July 24—The advance of the Franco-American forces continued, and in the evening the line ran east of Buzancy to Tigny, to Hartennes, Grand Rozoy, Ouchy-le-Château, Armentières, Coiney, Courpoil, and then joined the old line at Jaulgonne. West of Reims Marfaux was retaken, and the line ran from Aubilly, through Mézy, and joined the old line at Coulommiers.

July 25—The line ran from the Ourcq to the Marne, where the allied troops advanced 6 kilometers in the center and 3 to 4 kilometers on the flanks. The line in the evening ran from Armentières to Bruyères, the eastern edge of the Bois de la Tournelle, the eastern edge of Beauvades, the eastern edge of Le Charnel, the crossroads at Gros Chêne, la Boulangère, the northern edge of Trelop, Chassins.

July 26—The line ran: Nanteuil, Notre Dames, Hill 123, Hill 118, la Misère, Hill 100, southwestern part of Bois de la Tournelle, Hill 111, Le Charnel. Hard fighting continued

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all day, and the French and Americans steadily advanced on Fère.

July 27—The Forty-second Division tried to cross the Ourcq, but was driven back by heavy artillery fire.

July 28—The Forty-second Division renewed the assault, crossed the river, and after vigorous fighting took Seringes-et-Nesles, Nesles, and Sergy.

The Twenty-eighth Division held the line about 1 kilometer north of the Ourcq. During the day slow progress was made, the enemy slowly falling back after bitter rearguard action.

July 29—Franco-American troops advanced 3 kilometers from Oulchy to Villers Agron, and Bougenux, Sapony, Seringes, Nesles, and Cierges were included within our lines.

July 30—Our pressure continued on the right bank of the Ourcq. The railroad station at Fère and Cayenne Farm remained in our possession. We lost Seringes-et-Nesles, but reoccupied Sergy, Hill 312, and the woods 8 kilometers north of Ronchères.

July 31—The twenty-eighth Division retook Seringes-et-Nesles. The Thirty-second Division attacked in Crimpettes Woods with success; the woods were taken, and troops advanced to Cierges. German counterattacks were brilliantly repulsed with the bayonet, and an immense amount of material and equipment was taken from the enemy.

Aug. 3—After continuous fighting late in the evening Soissons was taken, and a line extending along the Vesle to between Braisne and Bazoches was being consolidated. South of the Aisne our troops drove back the enemy rear guard. Acting with the Fourth Division, the Thirty-second Division reached a line from Ville Savoye to a point just north of St. Gilles.

Aug. 4—A large enemy patrol attacked in the vicinity of Coulées, but was driven off by a combat group of the Fifth Division, which had been reinforced. Our troops were very active in patrolling, having sent out over seven reconnaissance, combat, and ambush patrols.

The Thirty-second Division took Fismes. In an eight-day battle this division forced the passage of the Ourcq, took prisoners from six enemy divisions, met, routed, and decimated a crack division of the Prussian Guards, a Bavarian division, and one other enemy division, and drove the enemy line back for 16 kilometers.

Aug. 6—The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack the objective of which was the north bank of the Vesle. The attack was met by exceedingly heavy machine-gun and artillery fire. On the right our troops succeeded in crossing the river and advancing to the highway which runs from Rheims to Soissons. On the left the advance was held up by the enemy's fire.

Aug. 7—The units on the left advanced across the river and occupied the railroad lines on the north bank. The casualties resulting from this operation were considerable. A violent enemy counterattack was completely repulsed, and a number of prisoners and machine guns were left in our hands.

Aug. 8—As a result of successful operations on the evening of Aug. 8, 11 companies of infantry and some machine-gun detachments of the Twenty-eighth Division reached the north bank of the Vesle.

Aug. 10—The Twenty-eighth Division launched an attack in Fismette. A creeping barrage moved ahead of them. They made some progress, but were soon exposed to flanking fire from both the east and the west and were forced to fall back into Fismette. The position here was very difficult. Flanking machine-gun fire came from both sides and heavy casualties were reported. A box barrage was placed around the town and ammunition was sent up. The town was held by one battalion, with one machine-gun platoon, which received orders to hold the position at all costs.

Aug. 17—After strong artillery preparation the infantry of the Fifth Division captured the village of Frapelle and consolidated the lines north of the road running into the town from the southeast.

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- Aug. 19—The enemy continued shellings Frapelle positions and the artillery of the Fifth Division replied actively.⁴
- Aug. 21—The Fifth Division repulsed hostile attack with heavy loss to the enemy and with no casualties to themselves.
- The Thirty-second Division, acting with the Tenth French Army, advanced to and held Juvigny.
- The Seventy-seventh Division cleared the small wood between the Vesle and the railroad west of Château du Diable.
- Sept. 3—During the five days prior to Sept. 3 the Thirty-second Division made daily advances against the enemy, gaining 6 kilometers through very difficult terrain and against violent opposition. It captured 11 officers and 920 enlisted men. A large amount of guns and munitions was captured. A patrol of the Seventy-seventh Division penetrated to Bazoches.
- Sept. 5—French and American units advanced in the Oise-Rheims area as far as Condé. Strong patrols of the Seventy-seventh Division were pushed forward north of the Vesle and were encountered by machine-gun resistance. Other casualties were slight.
- The Twenty-eighth Division crossed the Vesle in force and pursued the enemy to the north.
- Sept. 6—The artillery of the Twenty-eighth Division directed harassing and destructive fire on the Aisne bridges, while the enemy harassed the villages in our rear areas, using a great number of gas shells.
- Sept. 7—The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed two enemy counterattacks. The Seventy-seventh Division drove the enemy out of La Cendière Farm and passed the Aisne Canal.
- Sept. 12—After four hours' bombardment our troops advanced on the south and west flanks of the St. Mihiel salient at 5 A. M. By 7:30 A. M. the forces operating on the south had reached the southern edge of the Bois Juli, the Quart de Réserve, and the northern edge of the Bois de Mort Mare. By noon they had reached Essey and Vieville and the army operating in the difficult ground in the west had captured Les Eparges. At 6 P. M. the troops had reached a point one kilometer east of Senzey and had taken St. Remy and Combres. During the night the troops on the western flank of the salient advanced 5 miles in five hours, reaching Vigneulles by 3 A. M.
- Sept. 14—There was a general advance along the entire line, and the American Army established itself on the following front: Manheulles, Fresnes, Pintheville, St. Hilaire, Doncourt, northeast of Woel, south end of the Etang de Lachaussée, Vandières, and across the Moselle at Champey.
- Sept. 17—American troops advanced along the Moselle within 300 yards of Puguy.
- Sept. 18—The Twenty-sixth Division made two raids during the night. One against St. Hilaire was without result, as the enemy had retired; the other against the Bois de Warville resulted in the capture of 15 prisoners.
- Sept. 19—The Ninety-second Division repulsed an attempted enemy raid in the St. Die sector.
- Sept. 20—The Ninety-second Division repulsed two enemy raids in the region of Lesseux.
- Sept. 26—The First Army attacked northwest of Verdun on a front of 20 miles and penetrated to an average depth of 7 miles.
- Sept. 27—The One Hundred and Seventh Regiment of the Twenty-seventh Division attacked east of Bellincourt and attained its objectives.
- Sept. 29—In the Argonne the Americans met with furious resistance. Their losses were heavy, and they were unable to do more than hold their own.
- Sept. 30—The Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Divisions took prisoners north of St. Quentin totaling 210 officers and more than 1,200 men.
- Oct. 1—The Twenty-eighth Division repulsed a hostile counterattack on the entire divisional front in the Aire Valley, with very heavy losses to the enemy.
- Oct. 3—The Second Division, operating with the French Army, made

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- an advance of 2 kilometers, reaching Medéah Farm in the afternoon. In the evening the Second Division advanced about 5 kilometers, and their line ran from Medéah Farm southwest along the road to Blanc Mont. They captured 1,000 prisoners, and casualties were estimated at 500.
- Oct. 4.—The First Division attacked on both sides of Exermont, and made progress in spite of strong opposition from the enemy, who resisted with machine guns in organized opposition. Approximately 300 prisoners were taken, and our casualties were 1,500.
- Oct. 5.—The First Division captured Ariétal Farm, and the line was advanced 400 yards beyond. The Sixth Division repulsed a large enemy raid on Sondernach.
- Oct. 7.—A brigade of the Eighty-second Division advanced 7 kilometers, occupying Hill 223, north of Chatel Chéhéry; 46 prisoners were captured, including 1 officer. Our casualties were light. Later the enemy counterattacked and occupied Hill 223, north of Chatel Chéhéry.
- Oct. 8.—The Sixty-ninth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division attacked at 5 A. M. over a front of 5,000 yards, gained all first objectives by 9 A.M., and second objectives by noon. Fifty officers, 1,500 men, and four 101-millimeter guns were taken.
- Oct. 8.9.—The Second Corps advanced about 7 miles on a front of 4,000 yards and captured about 2,000 prisoners and 30 guns.
- Oct. 9.—In spite of strong resistance the First Division advanced in the sector east of Fléville and captured 230 prisoners.
- The Thirty-third Division, operating with the Seventeenth French Army Corps, attacked early in the morning north of Consenoye and reached its final objective about 9 A. M. About 650 prisoners were taken.
- Oct. 10.—The First Corps reached Cornay-La Besogne Ridge and passed Malassise Farm, east of Grand Ham. The Sixtieth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division advanced 6 kilometers, reaching the Selle River, and held the St. Benin-St. Souplet-La Haie-Menneresse line. Up to the evening of the 9th, 50 officers, 1,800 men, and 32 guns were captured.
- Oct. 12.—The Fourth Division repulsed two counterattacks by machine-gun fire, with severe loss to the enemy.
- Oct. 13.—An attack on Grandpré this morning met very heavy machine-gun fire, and troops of the Second Corps were finally forced to retire south of the Aire. A hostile counterattack at 8 P. M. south of Landres - et - St. Georges was repulsed.
- The Eighty-first Division repulsed an enemy raid in St. Die sector.
- The Seventy-seventh Division took Grandpré.
- Oct. 17.—The Twenty-ninth Division advanced to the summit of Bois de la Grand Montagne, east of the Meuse.
- The Forty-second Division took Côte de Châtillon.
- The Second Battalion of the Seventy-sixth Division reached the northern edge of Bois des Loges, west of Champigneulle.
- In an attack on a 4,000-yard front from St. Souplet to Molain our troops advanced 3,000 yards against very stiff resistance. All counterattacks repulsed. Prisoners taken were estimated at 2,500.
- Oct. 19.—The Thirtieth Division attacked with the British at dawn and advanced 2,000 yards. Prisoners captured since the morning of the 17th totaled 44 officers and over 1,500 men.
- The Seventy-eighth Division pushed its lines forward to Bellejoyeuse Farm and began to mop up the Bois des Loges.
- Oct. 21.—In attacks on the Bois des Rappes the Fifth Division met with stubborn resistance by machine-guns, supported by artillery and infantry fire. It captured the entire position, with 170 prisoners, including 5 officers. An enemy counterattack, supported by heavy artillery fire, was repulsed with heavy losses.

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- The Fifth and Third Divisions took Hill 297 and Bois des Rappes.
- Attacking in the evening, the Eighty-ninth Division occupied the northern and eastern edge of the Bois des Banth  ville.
- Oct. 23—Troops of the Third Corps reached the north ridge of the village of Banth  ville, taking 171 prisoners.
- The Twenty-ninth Division captured the ridge of the Bois d'Etrayes and Hill 361.
- Oct. 27—The Seventy-eighth Division entered Bellejoyeuse Farm, northeast of Grandpr  , and found it unoccupied. The occupation of the right of way north and northwest of Grandpr   was completed.
- Oct. 30—Patrols were active along the entire front of the Twenty-eighth Division. The Thirty-third Division, in the face of heavy artillery and machine-gun fire, north of Grandpr   advanced its lines and occupied the Bellejoyeuse Farm. On Oct. 30, 2,000 high explosive and gun shells fell in the vicinity of Fresnes. One of the divisional patrols captured five prisoners.
- Nov. 1—The troops of the First Army captured Clery-le-Grand. North of Ancreville they took 53 additional prisoners and continued their advance into the Bois de Banth  ville. During the night of Nov. 1-2, the troops of the Thirty-seventh Division consolidated their positions and effected a crossing of the River Scheldt, confronted by enemy machine-gun and rifle fire. The Ninety-first Division, supported by artillery and machine-gun fire, rapidly advanced over 6 kilometers in spite of enemy artillery and machine-gun fire. The enemy was driven from the west bank of the Scheldt and at noon the heights northwest of Audenarde were taken.
- Nov. 2—In the evening the troops of the Seventy-eighth Division drove the enemy from the Bois des Loges and closely followed his retreat. The Ninety-second Division, in spite of machine-gun resistance, pushed forward and advanced the line 3 kilometers.
- Nov. 3—The Ninety-first Division, in spite of active machine-gun resistance, forced its way toward the bank of the Scheldt in the vicinity of Eyne.
- Nov. 4—A brigade of the Seventy-ninth Division attacked an enemy sector, taking 81 prisoners and 8 machine guns, encountering strong resistance and repulsing several counterattacks.
- Nov. 5—The troops of the Seventy-seventh Division engaged in severe fighting, and overcame strong enemy resistance along the entire line. The artillery was active, firing on the enemy's retreating columns. Harassing artillery fire was returned by the enemy. Aviation was active on both sides. The enemy flew over our front lines and delivered machine-gun fire on our advancing troops. Two enemy planes were brought down.
- Nov. 6—Our troops of the First Corps continued their successful advance, forcing the enemy to retire. The towns of Flabas, Raucourt, Haraucourt, and Autrecourt were taken, and patrols pushed on as far as the Meuse. Large quantities of materiel were captured during the advance.
- Following heavy bombardment on the enemy's divisions the troops of the Fifth Division attacked, rapidly overcoming the enemy's resistance, capturing Lionevant-Dun, Murvaux, Fontaine and Vilosnes-sur-Meuse, taking more than 250 prisoners.
- Nov. 7—The troops of the Second Division cleared the west bank of the Meuse of the remaining machine guns and snipers in the vicinity of Mouzon. The Fifth Division, supported by artillery fire, continued its advance despite the enemy's continued resistance, principally with machine guns. Most of the artillery crossed to the east bank of the Meuse, following in support of the infantry. Additional prisoners were taken, including 2 officers and 132 men.
- Nov. 8—The patrols of the Second Division crossed the Meuse south of Mouzon. The troops of the Thirty-third Division, aided by barrage fire, carried out a successful

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raid on Château Aulnois, capturing 1 officer and 22 men. Strong combat patrols were sent out from the lines of the Ninety-second Division (colored). Prisoners were captured and casualties inflicted on the enemy.

Nov. 9—During midnight the patrols of the Fifth Division drove back the enemy, inflicting many casualties and capturing 6 prisoners. The troops consolidated, and, despite stubborn resistance, principally from machine guns, drove the enemy from Bois du Canol and La Sentinelle and captured Brandeville. In these operations 47 prisoners, 125 machine guns, and other matériel were captured. A strong combat patrol was active along the entire front of the Thirty-third Division, meeting with heavy machine-gun resistance from the enemy, and a patrol of one company captured 8 prisoners in the Bois de Warville. The troops of the Seventy-ninth Division advanced in a generally northeasterly direction, with the right flank in Bois de Damvillers. The Forty-second and units of the First seized the heights south of Sedan.

Nov. 10—The Thirty-third Division

carried out a successful raid on Marcheville, occupying the town and taking 80 prisoners, including 3 officers. Strong patrols from the line engaged in sharp fighting. The Thirty-seventh Division, operating with the Thirty-fourth French Army Corps, attacked in order to force a crossing of the Scheldt. Violent enfilading machine-gun fire, heavy artillery, and the flooded condition of the terrain delayed the construction of bridges and crossings. In the face of continuous heavy artillery fire, supported by machine guns, the troops advanced about 2 kilometers. The Ninetieth Division advanced toward Sudlon, encountering no resistance. The Ninety-second Division reached Bois Trehaul and captured 710 prisoners.

Nov. 11—The Third Division advanced 3 kilometers east of Bréhéville. Despite increased resistance by machine-gun and artillery fire, the Fifth Division continued to advance, capturing 18 prisoners, 3 large-calibre guns, 6 minenwerfers, and considerable matériel. In accordance with the terms of the armistice, hostilities on the front of the American armies ceased at 11 A. M.

GREAT EVENTS OF THE GREAT WAR

Arranged chronologically, with the names and nationalities of the leaders quoted in this series for each event, and with recommendations for still wider reading upon each

Date	Event	Volume and Page	Leaders Quoted and Nationality	Further reading. (Numbers refer to the Bibliography following this table)
	The Opposing Forces: The War between Life and Death The Kultur of Germany: Worship of the Superman, as Taught by Nietzsche	I. 1 I. 21	Henri Bergson (<i>Fr.</i>), Ottfried Nipold (<i>Ger.</i>), Karl Lamprecht (<i>Ger.</i>) William Elkin (<i>A'm'n.</i>), Friedrich Nietzsche (<i>Ger.</i>), Henrique de Mendonça (<i>Portuguese</i>)	1, 2, 10, 18, 84, 90 2, 7, 8, 9, 18, 89
	The Culture of Democracy: Humanity's Long Struggle Toward Equal Rights Germany's Economic Organization: The Prosperity that Urged Central Europe toward Expansion and War	I. 53 I. 65	Robert McElroy (<i>A'm'n.</i>), Theodore Rayssen (<i>Fr.</i>) Henri Hauser (<i>Fr.</i>), Friedrich Naumann (<i>Ger.</i>)	2, 3, 20, 25, 82, 84, 135 12, 13, 15, 24, 37, 89
	Germany's Dream of World Empire: The Worship of the War God Thor, as Taught by Treitschke The Poisons Brewed by Militarism: How Military Methods Bred Treachery and Brutality in Germany	I. 89 I. 121	Prince von Bülow (<i>Ger.</i>), Max Harren (<i>Ger.</i>), Richard Grelling (<i>Ger.</i>) General Bernhardi (<i>Ger.</i>), Eugene Etienne (<i>Fr.</i>), Charles Alischul (<i>A'm'n.</i>), Frederick Wm. Hohenzollern (<i>Ger.</i>)	5, 6, 11, 14, 86, 91 9, 10, 17, 89, 114, 157
	Woe to the Conquered!: Subject Foreign Nations within the German Empire The "Crime of Alsace": Why France and Germany Continued Irreconcilable Austria Finds Danger in the Balkans: The Growth of National Spirit Among the Serbs The Bagdad Railway and the Lordship of the East: The First Clash of British and German Imperialism	I. 144 I. 156 I. 176 I. 193	Ernest Barker (<i>Br.</i>) Charles Hazen (<i>A'm'n.</i>), Wm. Davis (<i>A'm'n.</i>), French Documents Constantin Dumba (<i>Aus.</i>), G. M. Trevelyan (<i>Br.</i>) Myles Jastrow (<i>A'm'n.</i>), J. H. Rose (<i>Br.</i>)	3, 4, 28, 86, 95, 141 3, 4, 6, 37, 122, 158 20, 24, 26, 27, 28, 92, 109 5, 13, 16, 20, 26, 88, 137

1914	The Freedom of the Seas: The Mad Race for Naval Supremacy	I. 204	Gilbert Murray (<i>Br.</i>), Arthur Ballfour (<i>Br.-J.</i>), G. von Schulze-Gaevertz (<i>Ger.</i>)	5, 12, 25, 74, 100, 121
	Germany Reaches the Breaking Point: The Burdens Which Made War a Necessity	I. 228	David S. Jordan (<i>Amer.</i>), General Bernardi (<i>Ger.</i>), Jules Cambon (<i>Fr.</i>), French Documents	4, 5, 23, 24, 39, 83
	June 28 . . . The Assassination of the Crown Prince: Whose Victim and Whose Opportunity?	I. 245	Austrian Documents, Crawford Price (<i>Br.</i>)	11, 27, 28, 60, 85, 110
	July 5 . . . The Potsdam Plot: The Hohenzollerns Plan to Divide the World Among Their Followers	I. 259	Henry Morgenthau (<i>Amer.</i>), Wm. Muhlau (<i>Ger.</i>), A. Thyrsen (<i>Ger.</i>)	8, 11, 19, 85, 91, 117, 118
	July 23 . . . The First Ultimatum: Austria's Impossible Demand to Serbia	I. 277	Count Berchtold (<i>Aus.</i>), Maurice De Bunsen (<i>Br.</i>), Prince Alexander (<i>Serb.</i>)	4, 24, 26, 27, 86, 113
	July 23 . . . Breakdown of the Ancient Diplomacy: Europe, Waking from Its "Fools' Paradise," Faces the Spectre of World War	I. 288	Baron Beyens (<i>Belg.</i>), Sir Edward Grey (<i>Br.</i>), Prince Lichnowsky (<i>Ger.</i>)	19, 21, 23, 85, 87, 134
	July 28 . . . Austria Opens the War: Serbia Becomes the Champion and Martyr for Nationality	I. 311	Austrian Documents, Count Apponyi (<i>Aus.</i>), Lazare Marcovitch (<i>Serb.</i>)	27, 39, 60, 90, 139
	July 31 . . . The Springing of the German Trap: The Ultimatum to Russia, Which Made World War Inevitable	I. 326	German and British Documents, Count von Reventlow (<i>Ger.</i>)	11, 19, 21, 23, 85, 91
	Aug. 3 . . . France Accepts the Struggle to the Death: The Climax of Forty Years of Fear	I. 355	Alex Markoff (<i>Rus.</i>)	4, 15, 21, 22, 39,
	Aug. 3 . . . Belgium Resists for Honor's Sake: German Materialism Meets the Imponderable Forces of the Spirit	I. 368	President Poincaré (<i>Fr.</i>), René Viviani (<i>Fr.</i>)	119
	Aug. 4 . . . Britain Enters the War: The "Scrap of Paper" and the "Hymn of Hate"	I. 382	German and Belgian Documents, De Gerlache De Gomety (<i>Belg.</i>), King Albert (<i>Belg.</i>)	49, 50, 51, 98, 99
	July 29 . . . Austria Devastates Serbia: The Serb Victory of the Jarad	II. 1	Herbert Asquith (<i>Br.</i>), Sir Edward Goschen (<i>Br.</i>), Von Bethmann-Hollweg (<i>Ger.</i>), David Lloyd George (<i>Br.</i>), Ernst Lissauer (<i>Ger.</i>)	11, 21, 25, 100, 101 146
			Vladislav Savic (<i>Serb.</i>), Woislaw Petrovitch (<i>Serb.</i>), R. A. Reiss (Swiss), General Krobatin (<i>Aus.</i>)	9, 31, 38, 47, 60

Date	Event	Volume and Page	Leaders Quoted and Nationality	Further reading (Norman's refers to the Bibliography following this table)
1914 July 29....	Britain Asserts Control of the Seas: The Thwarting of Germany's Naval Hopes and the Blockade of Her Commerce	II. 20	John Leyland (<i>Br.</i>), Count von Reventlow (<i>Ger.</i>), M. Saint-Brice (<i>Fr.</i>)	4, 12, 32, 44, 73, 121
Aug. 4.	The Assault on Liege: Belgium Amazes the World by her Resistance	II. 37	Everard Wyrall (<i>Br.</i>), General Lehman (<i>Belg.</i>), Von Bethmann-Hollweg (<i>Ger.</i>), German letters, Brand Whitlock (<i>Am'n</i>), General von Bissing (<i>Ger.</i>), Kaiser William (<i>Ger.</i>), Johannes Jorgensen (<i>Dane</i>), General Disforth (<i>Ger.</i>)	19, 40, 43, 50, 51, 117
Aug.-Sep.	Belgium's Agony: Germany Officially Adopts the Policy of Massacre	II. 51	Henry Morgenau (<i>Am'n</i>), Baron Guillaume (<i>Belg.</i>)	5, 49, 50, 51, 95, 96, 99
Aug. 10 ...	Turkey Lends Support to Germany: She Shelters the Fleeing German Warships	II. 93	George Perris (<i>Br.</i>)	4, 32, 38, 86, 93, 118
Aug. 7-20.	The French Invade Alsace and Lorraine: Their Joyous Welcome by Their Compatriots	II. 108	Marshal Joffre (<i>Fr.</i>), Marshal French (<i>Br.</i>), Heinrich Heubner (<i>Ger.</i>)	22, 33, 37, 39, 48, 158
Aug. 20 ...	The "Battle of the Frontiers": And the Retreat to the Marne	II. 118	Leon van der Essen (<i>Belg.</i>), Gottlieb von Jagow (<i>Ger.</i>), Manuel Gamarra (<i>South Am'n</i>)	33, 36, 39, 45, 48, 81
Aug. 26 ...	The Sacking of Louvain: The Culmination of Germany's "Frightfulness"	II. 150	Gabriel Hanotaux (<i>Fr.</i>), Gourko (<i>Rus.</i>), German letters	7, 49, 51, 95, 97, 98, 99
Aug. 26 ...	Tannenburg, Russia's First Disaster: Invasion of East Prussia and its Repulse	II. 170	Ernest Vizetelly (<i>Br.</i>), Princess Radziwill (<i>Rus.</i>)	31, 38, 40, 46, 57, 105
Sep. 2.	Russia Crushes the Austrians: The Lemberg Defeat Reduces Austria to German Vassalage	II. 183	General Gallieni (<i>Fr.</i>)	31, 40, 41, 42, 46, 58
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POPULATION UNDER GERMAN CONTROL

The Central Powers

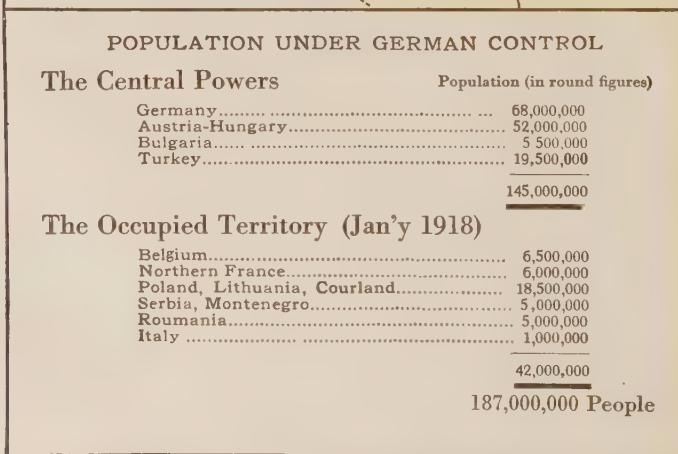
Population (in round figures)

Germany.....	68,000,000
Austria-Hungary.....	52,000,000
Bulgaria.....	5,500,000
Turkey.....	19,500,000
	145,000,000

The Occupied Territory (Jan'y 1918)

Belgium.....	6,500,000
Northern France.....	6,000,000
Poland, Lithuania, Courland.....	18,500,000
Serbia, Montenegro.....	5,000,000
Roumania.....	5,000,000
Italy	1,000,000
	42,000,000

187,000,000 People



KULTUR'S EMPIRE

SPRING 1917

"Central Europe" and its Annex in the Near East
(Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey)

The Entente Powers

Territory occupied by Central Powers

Territory occupied by Entente Powers

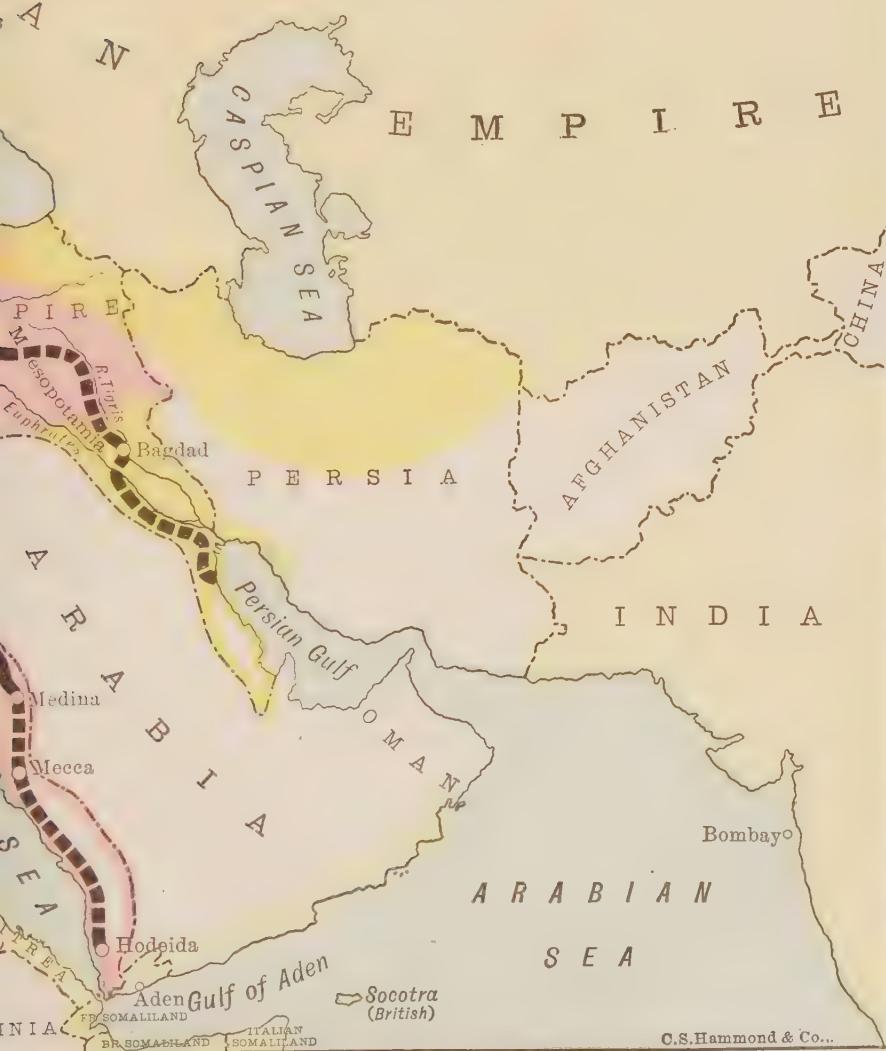
GERMANY'S MAIN ROUTE TO THE EAST

(Berlin-Bagdad, Berlin-Hodeida, Berlin-Cairo-Cape)

Supplementary Routes

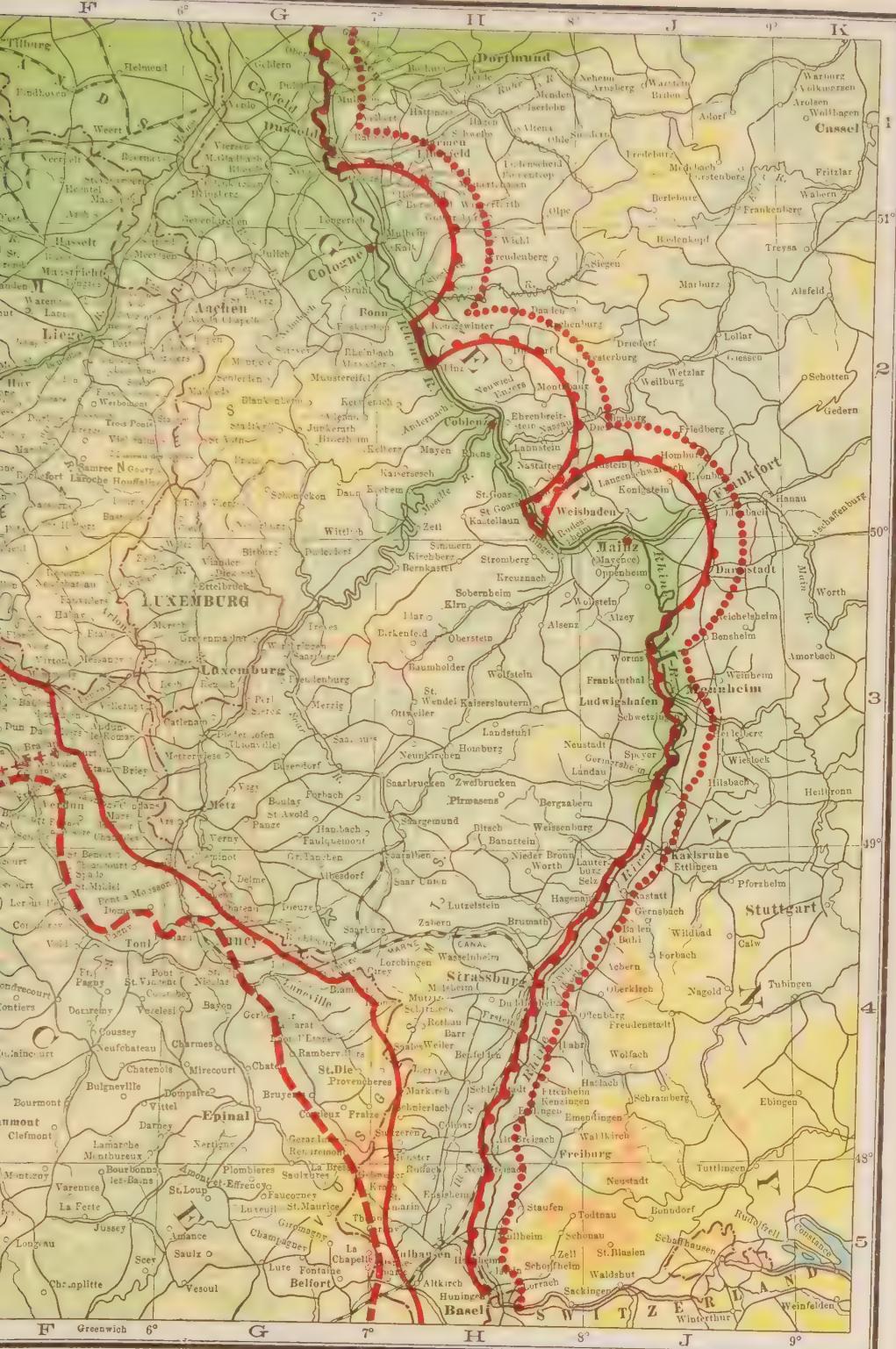
(Berlin-Trieste, Berlin-Salonica-Athens, Berlin-Constantza-Constantinople)

Uncompleted sectors

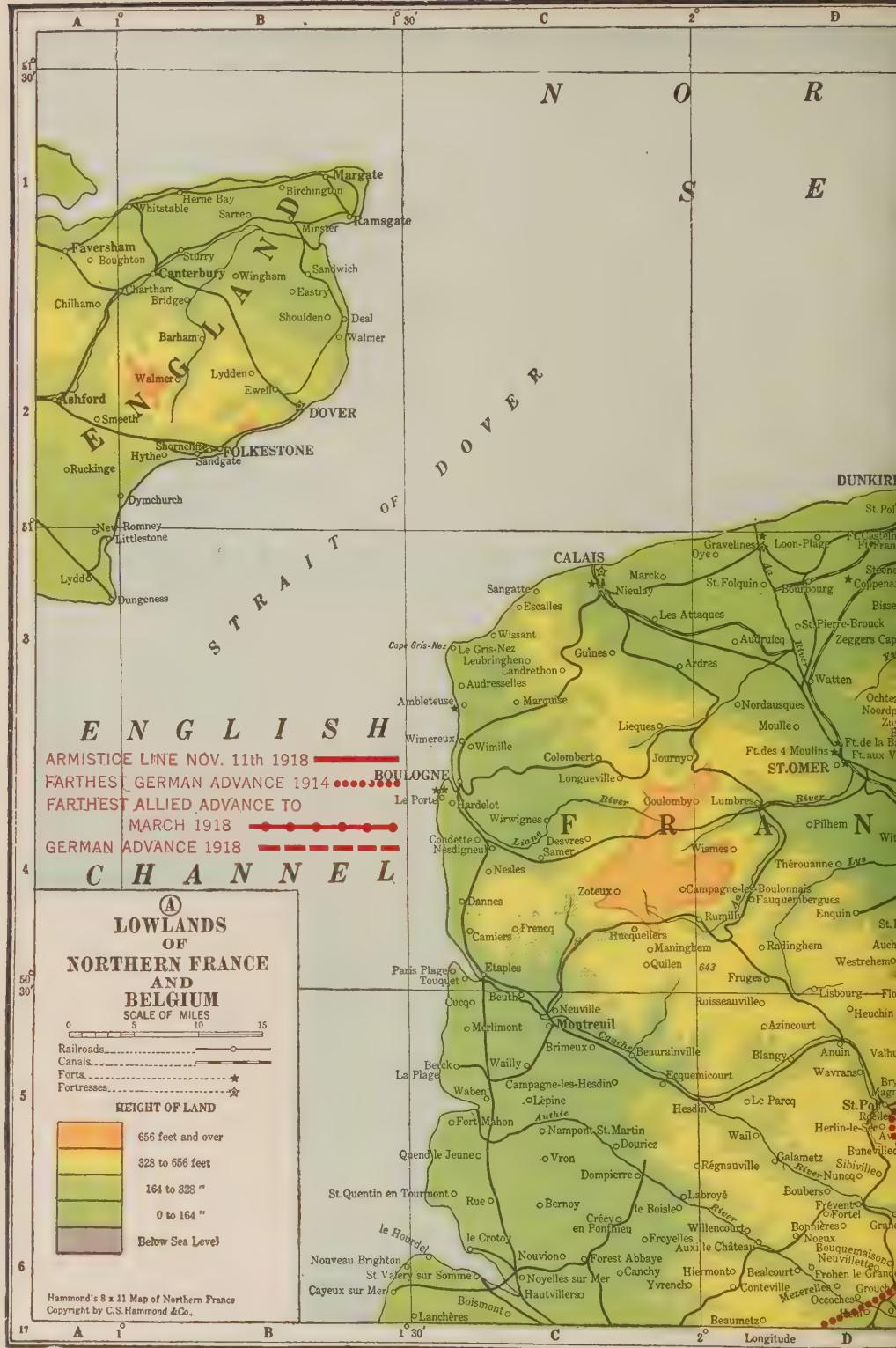


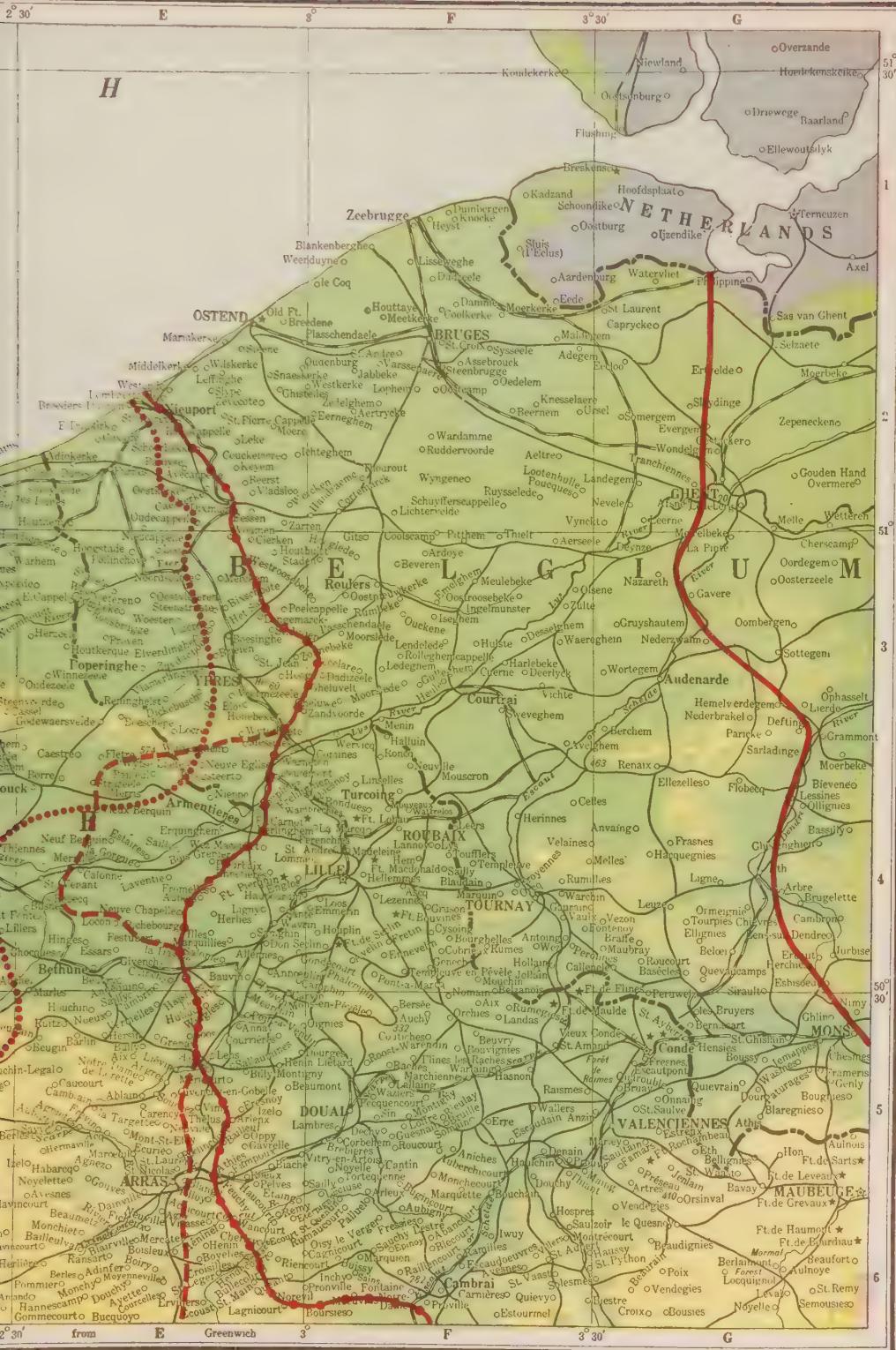


FURTHEST ADVANCE OF THE GERMAN ARMY ——————
HINDENBURG LINE + + + + ARMISTICE LINE NOV. 11th 1918 ——————

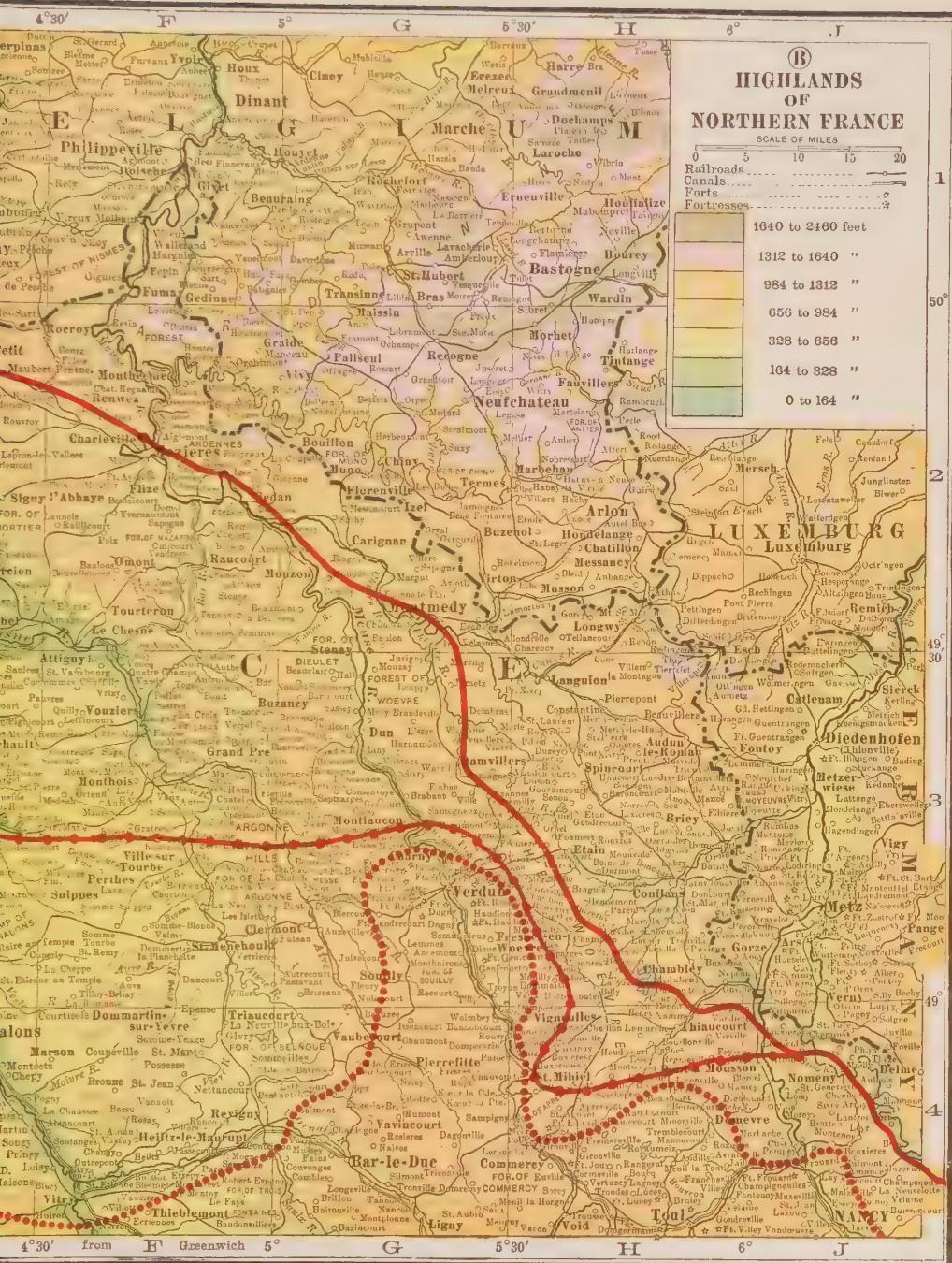


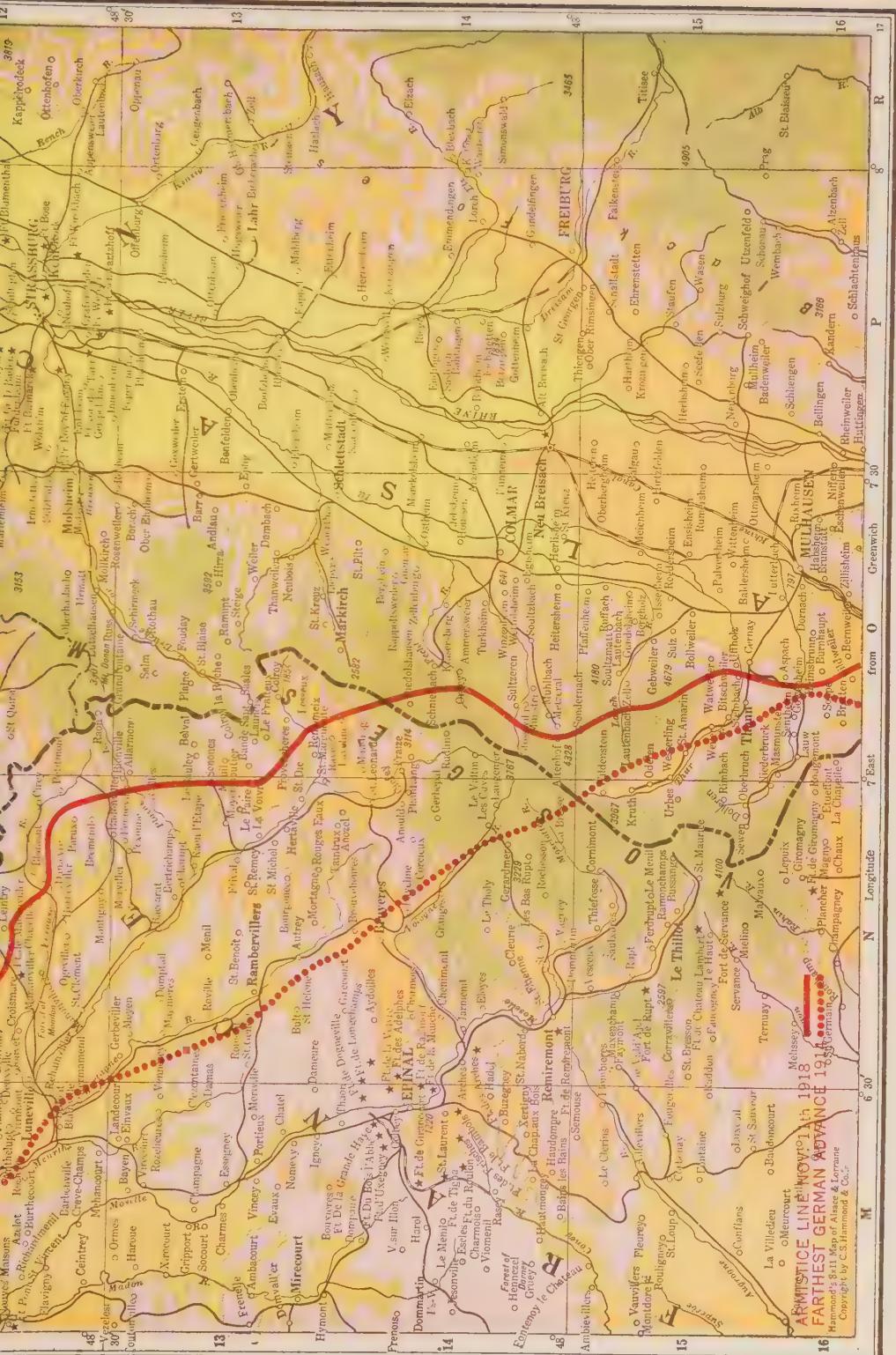
LIMIT OF ALLIED OCCUPATION
LIMIT OF NEUTRAL ZONE

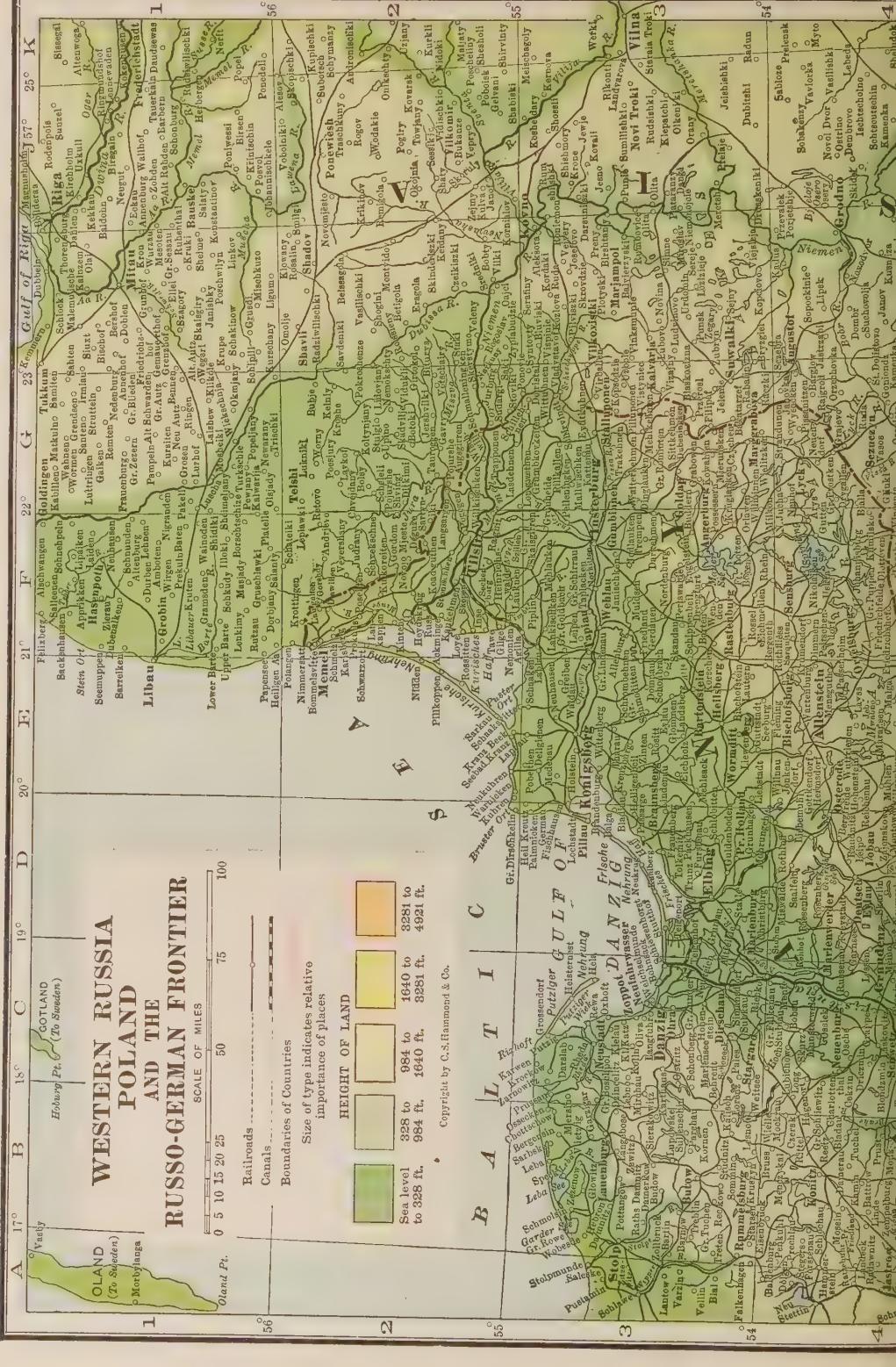


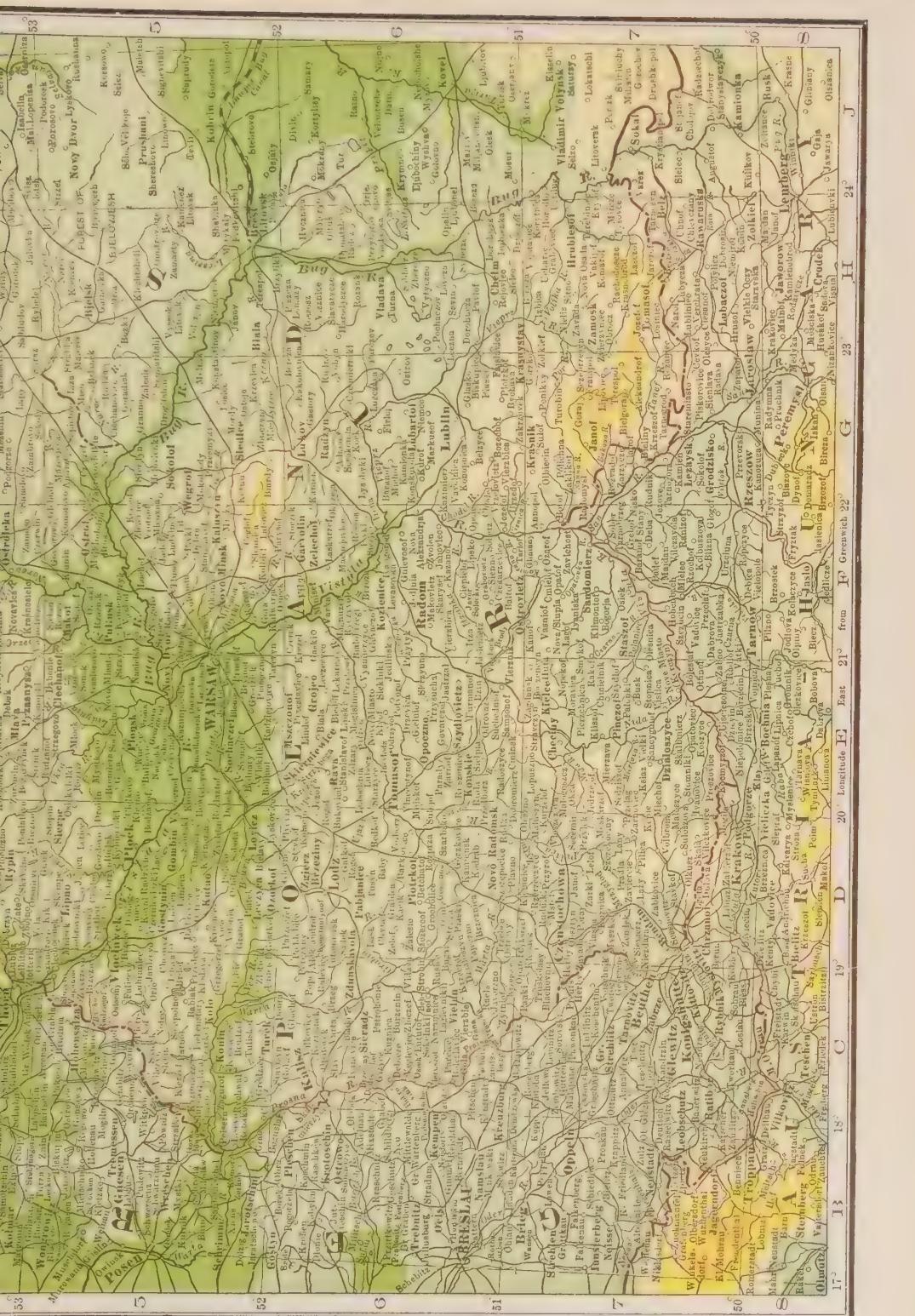












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DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONALITIES IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 150 200

<i>SLAVS</i>	Poles	
	Ruthenians (Little Russians)	
	Czechs and Slovaks	
	Slovenes	
	Serbo-Croats	
	Macedonian Slavs	
<i>SLAVO-MONGOLS, Bulgarians</i>	Magyars	
<i>MONGOLS</i>	Turks	
<i>LATINS</i>	Italians	
	Roumanians	
	Albanians	
	Greeks	
	Germans	

Longitude

East

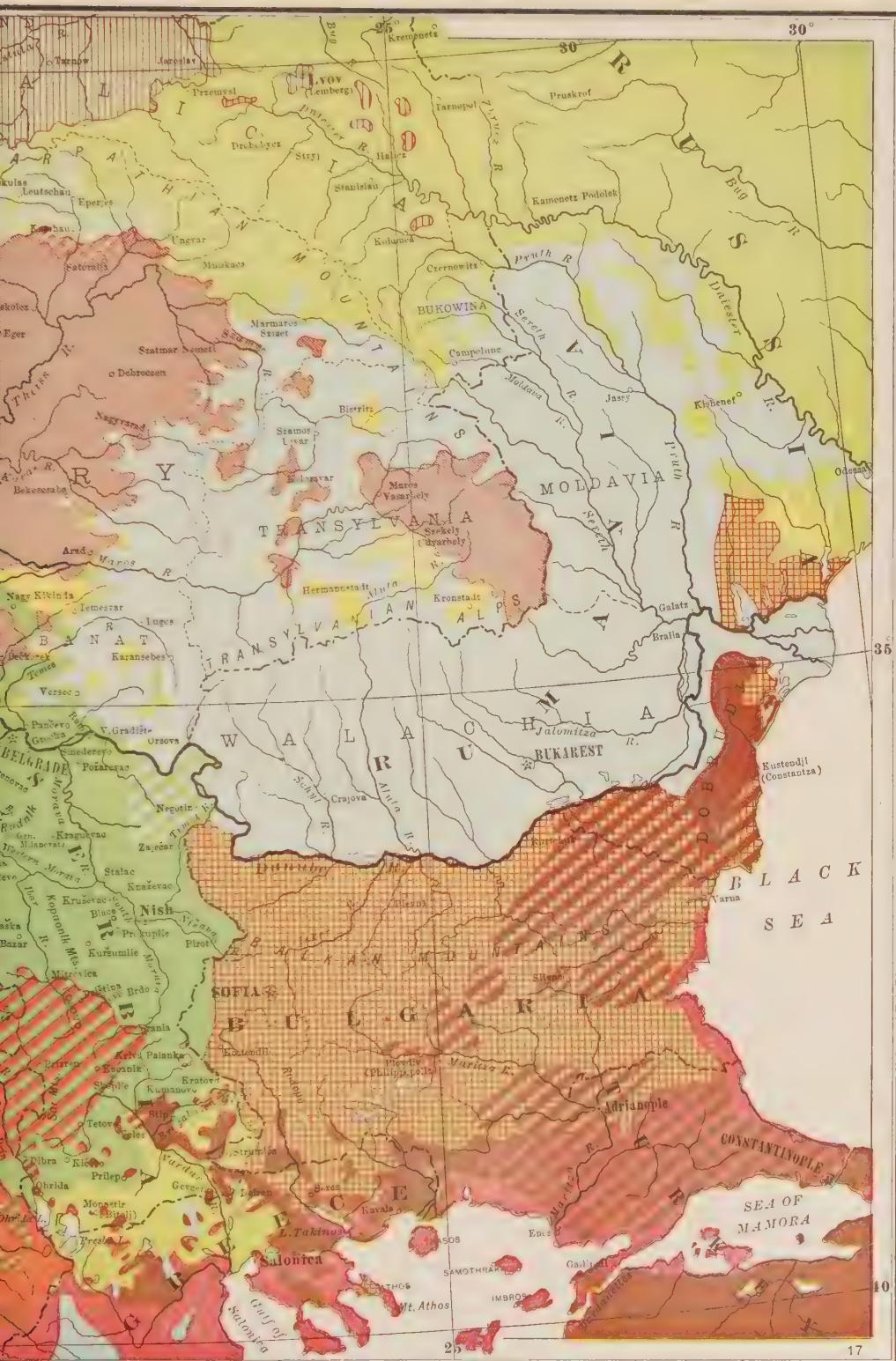
15°

from

Greenwich

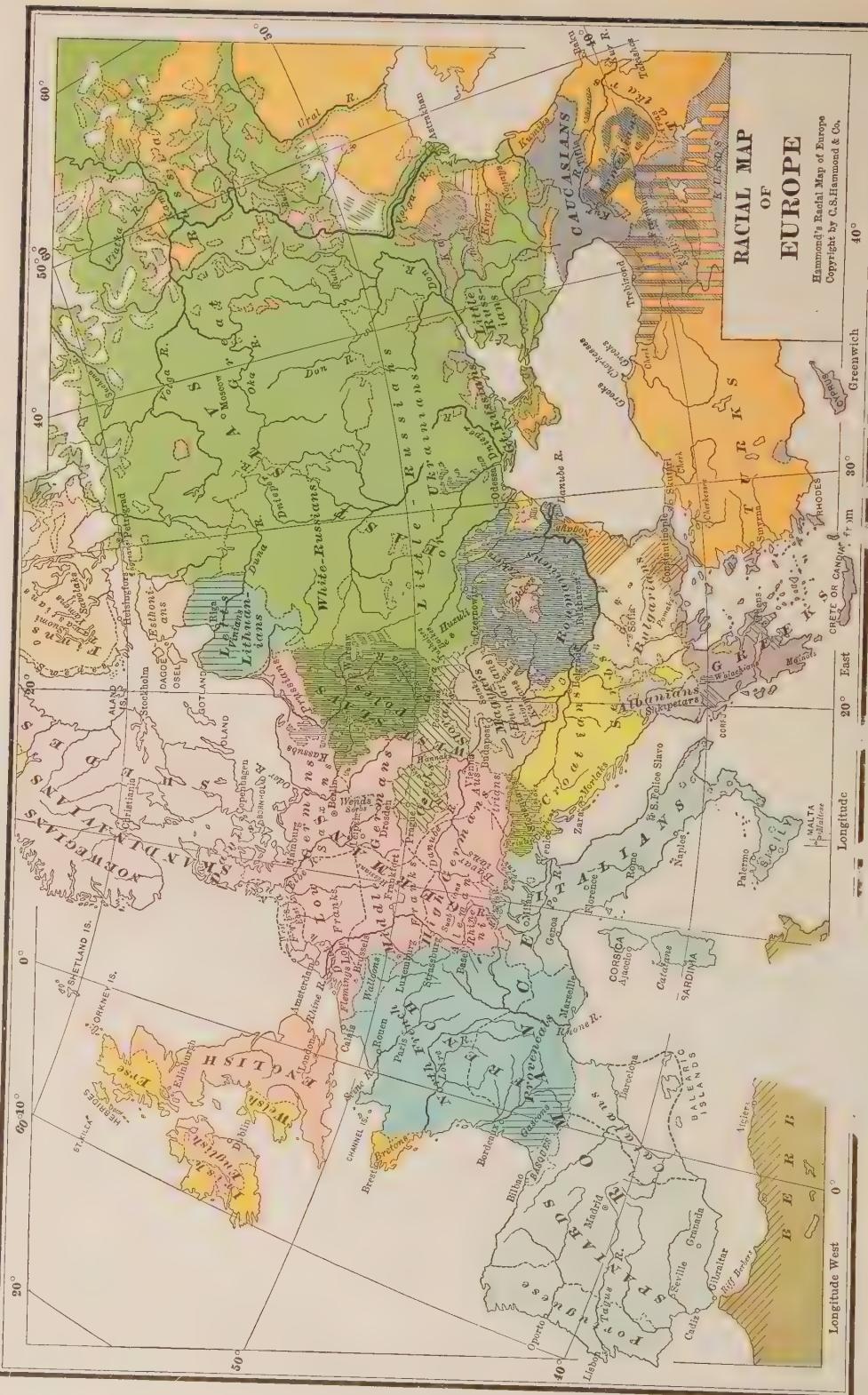
Boundary of Concession to Italy by the Allies

Hammond's 8x11 Map of South-Eastern Europe
Showing the Distribution of Nationalities
Copyright, by C. S. Hammond & Co.



RACIAL MAP OF EUROPE

Hammond's Racial Map of Europe
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10°

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